RICHARD YATES,
Governor of the State of Illinois, 1901-1905.

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

Illinois State Historical Library

VOLUME I.

EDITED AND ANNOTATED BY

H. W. BECKWITH,

PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PREFACE

AT the session of our legislature in 1901, Hon. George W. Stubblefield, the Senator from McLean County, introduced a bill, approved May 10, 1901, whereby $2,500 was "appropriated for the purpose of procuring documents, papers, materials and publications relating to the Northwest and the State of Illinois, and [for] publishing the same." Which was "to be expended by the Trustees of the State Historical Library," for that purpose, "with the sanction of the Governor."

Under this act the Board of Trustees of the Library named, with the sanction of Governor Richard Yates, ordered material of the kind required, to be gathered for such publication. This work and the editing of it was assigned to H. W. Beckwith by his associate trustees. In touch with them he has accordingly collected, arranged, edited and annotated the matter, provided the cuts, and supervised the printing of the matter in this volume.

While the material herein is original and authentic, the Editor, as well for himself as for his associate trustees, says that they are not responsible for statements as to facts as they appear in any of the historical documents herein published.

To keep within the limit of its appropriation, the Board of Trustees was required, not only to glean and carefully curtail from a mass of matter at their com-

mand, while at the same time they deemed it but right to give the several sections of the State a fair share of representation in the volume.

The documents herein follow a general rule, in that they imply outside matter to make them rightly understood. Taken by themselves alone the novice would gain little knowledge, if not more likely to be misled by them. Hence the explanatory edits and annotations of the original text have been prepared with the hope of aiding the average reader in acquiring a knowledge which he could otherwise gain only at an outlay of means, time and research in which very few persons would care to indulge.

Where matter appears in the body of the text enclosed in brackets [thus], the Editor is responsible for the same.

H. W. Beckwith,
E. J. James,
George N. Black,
Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library.

H. W. BECKWITH

GEORGE N. BLACK *E. J. JAMES

Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library.

INTRODUCTION

EDITORIAL.

JOLIET AND FATHER MARQUETTE—THEIR JOURNALS AND MAPS OF THEIR VOYAGE ON THE ILLINOIS AND MISSISSIPPI.

THE fact of the Mississippi was known to the French and their missionaries several years before it was duly explored. Early in his appointment as the "King's Councilor and Intendant of Justice, of Police and Finances of New France," Jean Talon writes from Quebec to Jean Colbert, "the King's Prime Minister," as follows:

"Canada is of such a vast extent that I know not of its limits on the north, they are so great a distance from us; and on the south there is nothing to prevent his Majesty's name and arms being carried as far as Florida, New Sweden, New Netherlands, New England; and that through the first of these countries access can be had even to Mexico. All this country is diversely watered by the Saint Lawrence, and the beautiful rivers that flow into it latterly, that communicate with divers Indian Nations rich in furs, especially the more northern of them. The southern nations can also be reached by way of Lake Ontario, if the portages [beyond] with which we are not yet acquainted, are not very difficult, though this may be overcome. If these southern nations do not abound in peltries as those of the north, they may have more pre-

cious commodities. And if we do not know of these last it is because our enemies, the Iroquois, intervene between us and the countries that produce them.*

In the Jesuit Relations, etc., for 1668-9, Chapter IX, Father James Marquette, writing from the Mission of the Holy Ghost at La Point, Lake Superior, says:

"When the Illinois come [to trade at] the Point they pass a great river which is almost a league in width. It flows from north to south and to so great a distance that the Illinois, who know nothing of the use of the canoe, have never as yet heard of its mouth, etc. It is hardly probably [probable] that this great river discharges itself [into the Atlantic] in Virginia; we are more inclined to believe that it has its mouth in [the Gulf of California], etc." The zealous Father hoped for the means to "visit the nations who dwell along" its shores, in order to open the way to many of our Fathers, who for a long time have awaited this happiness. This discovery will give us a perfect knowledge of the sea either to the south or to the west," etc.

One other fact thus early known is that the stream in question was called the "Miss-i-sipi," *vide*, references in the Relations from 1666 to 1671. Its meaning in the Illinois dialect is the "great river," the name more generally used by the missionaries in their "Relations" above referred to. It is a compound from "Mechah" [big] and "seebee" [river] of the Ojebway or Chippewa language, the purest and most classical speech of all the western Algonquin tribes.

The interest grew apace until finally in 1672, Talon, the Intendant, forestalled the missionaries and ordered the matter to be made one of official inquiry. On a confer-

* Talon, Intendant, etc., Quebec, Oct. 4, 1665, to the Prime Minister at Paris, where the original is found in the archives of the "Department of the Marine and Colonies."

ence with Count de Frontenac, the Governor, they chose Louis Joliet to make the exploration. He had been in the west, long an Indian trader, and was an expert topographer. A prime purpose of the French was to make the savages of New France, Christians, and agreeably to a custom for this purpose, Claude F. Dablon, the Father Superior of the Jesuit Missions, was notified, and he with rare good judgment appointed the Reverend Father James Marquette to go with Joliet. In this way the most ardent wish of the saintly Marquette was finally gratified.

Some two years later Frontenac writes the Prime Minister that the "Sieur Joliet, whom Monsieur Talon advised me, on my arrival from France, to dispatch for the discovery of the South sea [or Pacific Ocean], has returned three months ago, and discovered some very fine countries and a navigation so easy through the beautiful rivers he has found, that a person can go from Lake Ontario and Fort Frontenac [at Kingston, Canada] in a bark to the Gulf of Mexico, there being only one carrying place [around Niagara Falls] of half a league in length where Lake Ontario connects with Lake Erie. A settlement could be made at this point and another bark built on Lake Erie."

Thus early do we see the foreshadowing of La Salle's later discoveries.

Continuing, Governor Frontenac says that "Joliet has been within ten days' journey of the Gulf of Mexico and believes that water communications could be found leading to the Vermilion and California seas [*i. e.*, the Gulf of California], by means of the river [Missouri] that flows from the west into the Grand River [Mississippi] that he has discovered, and which last runs from north to south and is as large as the Saint Lawrence before Quebec. I send you by my secretary the map he has made of it, and

the observations he has been able to recollect, as he lost all his minutes and journals in the shipwreck he suffered in sight of [and just above] Montreal [at the rapids of La Chine where La Salle afterwards had his first trading post].

"Joliet left with the Fathers at Sault Ste. Marie, of Lake Superior copies of his journals. We cannot get these before next year. You will glean from them additional particulars of this discovery, in which he has very well acquitted himself."*

It seems to the Editor here that a copy of these journals and the map referred to of Joliet were gotten by Melchiseds Thevenot, a book printer at Paris and published by him, with the map referred to by Frontenac produced in 1681.† The volume is very rare. An abridged translation of Joliet's journal and map by Jared Sparks, President of Harvard University, appears in his "Life of Father Marquette" issued in 1844. The entire text was translated by Benjamin F. French and is found in his "Historical Collections of Louisiana."‡ The journal seems like his work or by him [Thevenot] and Joliet jointly. Be this as it may, is was meant and should stand for Joliet's official report of his voyage.

Meanwhile Father Marquette made and sent on his report to *his* superior, Father Claude F. Dablon, at Quebec, and the original manuscript was edited and prepared for publication by him in 1678. It, with Marquette's pen-made map of his and Joliet's voyage, lay unknown for more than 150 years when they were unearthed in St. Mary's College at Montreal by Prof. Benjamin F. French, who wished to publish them in his Historical Collections of

* Frontenac to the Minister. Quebec Nov. 14, 1674.

† In his volume titled Recueil—DeVoyages—De M. Thevenot—Dedie au Roi—A. Paris—MDCLXXXI—Avec Privilege du Roy.

‡ Part II. Philadelphia 1850.

Louisiana. Instead, the document and map were turned over to and translated by the late John Gilmary Shea and annotated by him and Mr. French jointly.

The text so arranged was published in Shea's "Discoveries and Explorations of the Mississippi" in 1852, some of the volumes appearing as "part IV" of French's Historical Collections. Both of these being out of print are now classed as rare Americana.

The small map drawn up by Joliet on his return to Quebec for Frontenac and sent by his secretary to Colbert, is quite instructive. The late Francis Parkman who was conversant with the original, says that on its marginal address to Frontenac "Joliet says Lake Frontenac [Ontario] is separated by a fall of half a league from Lake Erie, from which one enters that of the Hurons and by the same navigation that of the Illinois [Michigan] from the head of which one crosses to the river Divine, *i. e.*, the Des Plaines branch of the River Illinois, by a portage of a thousand paces. This [last named] river falls into the River Colbert [Mississippi] which discharges itself into the Gulf of Mexico."

1 * Hence it is not to be confused with Joliet's later map
3 tenac, Joliet leaves out all that is said above relative to
2 of 1674, whereon, in his marginal address to Count Fron-
4 the Chicago portage and Desplaines river and inserts matter about the forest, fruits, game, Indian corn, crops, and large canoes, etc., of the savages along the Mississippi.

Father Marquette's account as translated by Doctor Shea, so pertinent to the history of the northwest and especially to Illinois, is substantially like that of Joliet and is reproduced by the editor here, first because it is authentic beyond doubt, and second because it is fuller in detail. The Editor follows Shea's divisions of the matter as to introduction, head-lines, chapters and sections.—H. W. BECKWITH.

* Line dropped by linotype operator
read lines as numbered.

CHAPTER I.*

1673—Of the First Voyage Made by Father Marquette Toward New Mexico, and How the Design was Conceived.

FATHER MARQUETTE had long projected this enterprise impelled by his ardent desire of extending the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and of making Him known and adored by all nations of that country. He beheld himself, as it were, at the door of these new nations, when, in 1670, he was laboring at the mission of Lapointe du St. Esprit, which is at the extremity of the upper lake of the Ottawas. He even saw at times many of those new tribes, concerning whom he gathered all the information that he could. This induced him to make several efforts to undertake the enterprise, but always in vain; he had even given up all hopes of succeeding, when the Almighty presented him the following opportunity:

In 1673, the Comte de Frontenac, our Governor, and M. Talon, then our intendant, knowing the importance of this discovery, either to seek a passage from here to the China sea by the river which empties into the California or Red Sea, or to verify what was afterward said of the two kingdoms of Theguaio and Quivira, which border on Canada, and where gold mines are, it is said, abundant, these gentlemen, I say, both at the same time selected for

* J. G. Shea's Translation of "The Voyages and Discoveries of Father James Marquette in the Valley of the Mississippi." Prepared for publication by Father Claudius Dablon in 1678.

the enterprise the Sieur Jollyet, whom they deemed competent for so great a design, wishing to see Father Marquette accompany him.

They were not mistaken in their choice of the Sieur Jollyet, for he was a young man, born in this country, and endowed with every quality that could be desired in such an enterprise. He possessed experience and a knowledge of the languages of the Ottawa country, where he had spent several years; he had the tact and prudence so necessary for the success of a voyage equally dangerous and difficult; and, lastly, he had courage to fear nothing where all is to be feared. He accordingly fulfilled the expectations entertained of him, and if, after having passed through dangers of a thousand kinds, he had not unfortunately been wrecked in the very harbor—his canoe having upset below the Saut St. Louis, near Montreal, where he lost his men and papers, and only escaped, by a kind of miracle, with his life—the success of his voyage had left nothing to be desired.

Section I.

1673—Departure of Father James Marquette for the Discovery of the Great River, Called by the Indians Missisipi, which Leads to New Mexico.

THE day of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, whom I had always invoked since I have been in this Ottawa country, to obtain of God the grace to be able to visit the nations on the River Missisipi, was identically that on which M. Jollyet arrived with orders of the Comte de Frontenac, our Governor, and M. Talon, our Intendant, to make this discovery with me. I was the more enraptured at this good news, as I saw my designs on the point of being accomplished, and myself in the happy

necessity of exposing my life for the salvation of all these nations, and particularly for the Illinois, who had, when I was at Lapointe du St. Esprit, very earnestly entreated me to carry the word of God to their country.

We were not long in preparing our outfit, although we were embarking on a voyage the duration of which we could not foresee. Indian corn, with some dried meat, was our whole stock of provisions. With this we set out in two bark canoes, M. Jollyet, myself, and five men, firmly resolved to do all and suffer all for so glorious an enterprise.

It was on the 17th of May, 1673, that we started from the mission of St. Ignatius at [the "Point" on the mainland near] Michilimakinac, where I then was. Our joy at being chosen for this expedition roused our courage, and sweetened the labor of rowing from morning till night. As we were going to seek unknown countries, we took all possible precautions, that, if our enterprise was hazardous, it should not be foolhardy; for this reason we gathered all possible information from Indians who had frequented those parts, and even from their accounts traced a map of all the new country, marking down the rivers on which we were to sail, the names of the nations and places through which we were to pass, the course of the great river, and what direction we should take when we got to it.

Above all, I put our voyage under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, promising her, that if she did us the grace to discover the great river, I would give it the name of Conception; and that I would also give that name to the first mission which I should establish among these new nations, as I have actually done among the Ilinois.

SECTION II.

1673—THE FATHER VISITS BY THE WAY THE WILD-OATS TRIBES—WHAT THESE WILD OATS ARE—HE ENTERS THE BAY OF THE FETID—SOME PARTICULARS AS TO THIS BAY—HE REACHES THE FIRE NATION.

WITH all these precautions, we made our paddles play merrily over a part of Lake Huron and that of the Ilinois into the Bay of the Fetid [Green Bay]. The first nation that we met was that of the Wild Oats [Me-nom-o-nees or the "Fol-Avoines," for the French so called both the grain and these Indians]. I entered their river to visit them, as we have preached the gospel to these tribes for some years past, so that there are many good Christians among them.

The wild oats, from which they take their name, as they are found in their country, are a kind of grass which grows spontaneously in little rivers with slimy bottoms, and in marshy places; they are very like the wild oats that grow up among our wheat. The ears are on stalks knotted at intervals; they rise above the water about the month of June, and keep rising till they float about two feet above it. The grain is not thicker than our oats, but is as long again, so that the meal is much more abundant.

The following is the manner in which the Indians gather it and prepare it for eating. In the month of September, which is the proper time for this harvest, they go in canoes across these fields of wild oats, and shake the ears on their right and left into the canoe as they advance; the grain falls easily if it is ripe, and in a little while their provision is made. To clear it from the chaff, and strip it of a pellicle in which it is enclosed, they put it to dry in the smoke on a wooden lattice, under which they keep up a small fire for several days. When the oats are well dried,

they put them in a skin of the form of a bag, which is then forced into a hole, made on purpose, in the ground; they then tread it out so long and so well, that the grain being freed from the chaff is easily winnowed; after which they pound it to reduce it to meal, or even unpounded, boil it in water seasoned with grease, and in this way, wild oats are almost as palatable as rice would be when not better seasoned.

I informed these people of the Wild Oats of my design of going to discover distant nations to instruct them in the mysteries of our Holy Religion; they were very much surprised, and did their best to dissuade me. They told me, that I would meet nations that never spare strangers, but tomahawk them without any provocation; that the war which had broken out among various nations on our route, exposed us to another evident danger—that of being killed by the war parties which are constantly in the field; that the Great River is very dangerous, unless the difficult parts are known; that it was full of frightful monsters who swallowed up men and canoes together; that there is even a demon there who can be heard from afar, who stops the passage and engulfs all who dare approach; lastly, that the heat is so excessive in those countries, that it would infallibly cause our death.

I thanked them for their kind advice, but assured them that I could not follow it, as the salvation of souls was concerned; that for them, I should be too happy to lay down my life; that I made light of their pretended demon, that we would defend ourselves well enough against the river monsters; and, besides, we should be on our guard to avoid the other dangers with which they threatened us. After having made them pray and given them some instruction, I left them, and, embarking in our canoes, we soon after reached the extremity of the Bay of the Fetid,

where our Fathers labor successively in the conversion of these tribes, having baptized more than two thousand since they have been there.

This bay bears a name which has not so bad a meaning in the Indian language, for they call it rather Salt Bay than Fetid Bay, although among them it is almost the same, and this is also the name which they give to the sea. This induced us to make very exact researches to discover whether there were not in these parts some salt springs, as there are among the Iroquois, but we could not find any. We accordingly concluded that the name has been given on account of the quantity of slime and mud there, constantly exhaling noisome vapors which cause the loudest and longest peals of thunder that I ever heard.

The bay is about thirty leagues long, and eight wide at its mouth; it narrows gradually to the extremity, where it is easy to remark the tide which has its regular flow and ebb, almost like that of the sea. This is not the place to examine whether they are real tides, whether they are caused by the winds, or by some other age; whether they are winds, out-riders of the moon, or attached to her suite, who consequently agitate the lake and give it a kind of flow and ebb, whenever the moon rises above the horizon. What I can certainly aver is, that when the water is quite tranquil, you can easily see it rise and fall with the course of the moon, although I do not deny that this movement may be caused by distant winds, which pressing on the centre of the lake, make it rise and fall on the shore in the way that meets our eyes.

We left this bay to enter a river, [Fox river] emptying into it. It is very beautiful at its mouth, and flows gently; it is full of bustards, duck, teal and other birds, attracted by the wild oats of which they are very fond; but when you have advanced a little up the river, it becomes very

difficult, both on account of the currents and of the sharp rocks which cut the canoes and the feet of those who are obliged to drag them, especially when the water is low. For all that we passed the rapids safely, and as we approached Machkoutens, the Fire nation, ["'Mush-kooda' —Uh-ke," or Prairie land tribes] I had the curiosity to drink the mineral waters of the river which is not far from this town. I also took time to examine an herb, the virtue of which an Indian, who possessed the secret, had, with many ceremonies, made known to Father Alloues. Its root is useful against the bite of serpents, the Almighty having been pleased to give this remedy against a poison very common in the country. It is very hot, and has the taste of powder when crushed between the teeth. It must be chewed and put on the bite of the serpent. Snakes have such an antipathy to it, that they fly from one rubbed with it. It produces several stalks about a foot long, with pretty long leaves, and a white flower, much like the gilly-flower. I put some into my canoe to examine it at leisure,* while we kept on our way toward Maskoutens, where we arrived on the 7th of June.

* A fine description of the so-called "Indian turnip," or triphyllum, quite common throughout the northwest, and held as an antidote for snake bite.—H. W. B.

SECTION III.

1673—DESCRIPTION OF THE VILLAGE OF MASKOUTENS—WHAT TRANSPIRED BETWEEN THE FATHER AND THE INDIANS—THE FRENCH BEGIN TO ENTER A NEW AND UNKNOWN COUNTRY, AND REACH THE MISSISIPI.

HERE we are then at Maskoutens. [Prairie or Fire made lands, as their name implies.] This word in Algonquin, may mean Fire nation, and that is the name given to them. This is the limit of the discoveries made by the French, for they have not yet passed beyond it.

This town is made up of three nations gathered here, Miamis, Maskoutens, and Kikabous. The first are more civil, liberal and better made; they wear two long ear-locks, which give then a good appearance; they have the name of being warriors and seldom send out war parties in vain; they are very docile, listen quietly to what you tell them, and showed themselves so eager to hear Father Allouez when he was instructing them, that they gave him little rest, even at night. The Maskoutens and Kikabous are ruder and more like peasants, compared to the others.

As bark for cabins is rare in this country, they use rushes, which serve them for walls and roof, but which are no great shelter against the wind, and still less against the rain when it falls in torrents. The advantage of this kind of cabins is that they can roll them up, and carry them easily where they like in hunting-time.

When I visited them, I was extremely consoled to see a beautiful cross planted in the midst of the town, adorned

with several white skins, red belts, bows and arrows, which these good people had offered to the Great Manitou [such is the name they give to God] to thank him for having had pity on them during the winter, giving them plenty of game when they were in greatest dread of famine.

I felt no little pleasure in beholding the position of this town; the view is beautiful and very picturesque, for from the eminence on which it is perched, the eye discovers on every side prairies spreading away beyond its reach, interspersed with thickets or groves of lofty trees. The soil is very good, producing much corn; the Indians gather also quantities of plums and grapes, from which good wine could be made, if they chose.

No sooner had we arrived than M. Jollyet and I assembled the sachems; he told them that he was sent by our governor to discover new countries, and I, by the Almighty, to illumine them with the light of the gospel; that the Sovereign Master of our lives wished to be known by all nations, and that to obey His will, I did not fear death, to which I exposed myself in such dangerous voyages; that we needed two guides to put us on our way, these, making them a present, we begged them to grant us. This they did very civily, and even proceeded to speak to us by a present, which was a mat to serve us as a bed on our voyage.

The next day, which was the tenth of June, two Miamis whom they had given us as guides, embarked with us, in the sight of a great crowd, who could wonder enough to see seven Frenchmen alone in two canoes, dare to undertake so strange and so hazardous an expedition.

We knew that there was, three leagues from Maskoutens, a river [the Wisconsin, near Portage City, in that State] emptying into the Mississippi; we knew, too, that the point of the compass we were to hold to reach it, was the west-

south-west; but the way is so cut up by marshes and little lakes, that it is easy to go astray, especially as the river leading to it is so covered with wild oats, that you can hardly discover the channel. Hence, we had good need of our two guides, who led us safely to a portage of twenty-seven hundred paces, and helped us to transport our canoes to enter this river, after which they returned, leaving us alone in an unknown country, in the hands of Providence.

We now leave the waters which flow to Quebec, a distance of four or five hundred leagues, to follow those which will henceforth lead us into strange lands. Before embarking, we all began together a new devotion to the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, which we practiced every day, addressing her particular prayers to put under her protection both our persons and the success of our voyage. Then after having encouraged one another, we got into our canoes. The river on which we embarked is called Meskousing; it is very broad, with a sandy bottom, forming many shallows, which render navigation very difficult. It is full of vine-clad islets. On the banks appear fertile lands. diversified with wood, prairie, and hill. Here you find oaks, walnut, whitewood, and another kind of tree with branches. armed with long thorns. We saw no small game or fish, but deer and moose in considerable numbers.

Our route was southwest, and after sailing about thirty leagues, we perceived a place which had all the appearances of an iron mine, and in fact, one of our party who had seen some before, averred that the one we had found was very good and very rich. It is covered with three feet of good earth, very near a chain of rock, whose base is covered with fine timber. After forty leagues on this same route, we reached the mouth of our river, and finding ourselves at 42½ degrees N., we safely entered the Missisipi on the 17th of June, with a joy I can not express.

Section IV.

1673—Of the Great River Called Missisipi—Its Most Striking Peculiarities—Various Animals, and Particularly the Pisikious or Wild Cattle—Their Form and Disposition—The First Illinois Villages Reached by the French.

HERE, then, we are on this renowned river, of which I have endeavored to remark attentively all the peculiarities. The Missipipi river has its source in several lakes in the country of the nations to the north; it is narrow at the mouth of the Miskousing; its current, which runs south, is slow and gentle; on the right is a considerable chain of very high mountains, and on the left fine lands; it is in many places studded with islands. On sounding, we have found ten fathoms of water. Its breadth is very unequal; it is sometimes three-quarters of a league, and sometimes narrows in to three arpents [220 yards.] We gently follow its course, which bears south and southeast till the forty-second degree. Here we perceive that the whole face is changed; there is now almost no wood or mountain, the islands are more beautiful and covered with finer trees; we see nothing but deer and moose, bustards and wingless swans, for they shed their plumes in this country. From time to time we meet monstrous fish, one of which struck so violently against our canoe, that I took it for a large tree about to knock us to pieces. Another time we perceived on the water a monster with the head of a tiger, a pointed snout like a wild-cat's, a beard, and ears erect, a grayish head and neck all black. We saw no more of them. On casting out nets, we have taken sturgeon and a very extraordinary kind of fish [the "spoon bill"]; it resembles a trout with this difference, that it has a larger mouth, but smaller eyes and snout. Near the latter is a large bone, like a woman's busk, three fingers wide, and

a cubit long; the end is circular and as wide as the hand. In leaping out of the water the weight of this often throws it back.

Having descended as far as 41 degrees 28 minutes, following the same direction, we find that turkeys have taken the place of game, and the pisikious, [the Algonquin for Buffalo] or wild cattle, that of other beasts. We call them wild cattle, because they are like our domestic cattle; they are not longer, but almost as big again, and more corpulent; our men having killed one, three of us had considerable trouble in moving it. The head is very large, the forehead flat and a foot and a half broad between the horns, which are exactly like those of our cattle, except that they are black and much larger. Under the neck there is a kind of large crop hanging down, and on the back a pretty high hump. The whole head, the neck, and part of the shoulders, are covered with a great mane like a horse's; it is a crest a foot long, which renders them hideous, and falling over their eyes, prevents their seeing before them. The rest of the body is covered with a coarse curly hair like the wool of our sheep, but much stronger and thicker. It falls in summer, and the skin is then as soft as velvet. At this time the Indians employ the skins to make beautiful robes, which they paint of various colors; the flesh and fat of the pisikious are excellent, and constitute the best dish in banquets. They are very fierce, and not a year passes without their killing some Indian. When attacked, they take a man with their horns, if they can, lift him up, and then dash him to the ground, trample on him, and kill him. When you fire at them from a distance with gun or bow, you must throw yourself on the ground as soon as you fire, and hide in the grass; for, if they perceive the one who fired, they rush on him and attack him. As their feet are large and rather short, they do not generally go very fast, except when they are irritated. They are scat-

tered over the prairies like herds of cattle. I have seen a band of four hundred.

We advanced constantly, but as we did not know where we were going, having already made more than a hundred leagues without having discovered anything but beasts and birds, we kept well on our guard. Accordingly we make only a little fire on the shore at night to prepare our meal, and after supper keep as far from it as possible, passing the night in our canoes, which we anchor in the river pretty far from the bank. Even this did not prevent one of us being always as a sentinel, for fear of a surprise.

Proceeding south and south-southwest, we find ourselves at 41 degrees north; then at 40 degrees and some minutes, partly by southeast and partly by southwest, after having advanced more than sixty leagues since entering the river, without discovering anything.

At last, on the 25th of June, we perceived footprints of men by the water-side, and a beaten path entering a beautiful prairie. We stopped to examine it, and concluding that it was a path leading to some Indian village, we resolved to go and reconnoitre; we accordingly left our two canoes in charge of our people, cautioning them strictly to beware of a surprise; then M. Jollyet and I undertook this rather hazardous discovery for two single men, who thus put themselves at the discretion of an unknown and barbarous people. We followed the little path in silence, and having advanced about two leagues, we discovered a village on the banks of the river, and two others on a hill, half a league from the former.

Then, indeed, we recommended ourselves to God, with all our hearts; and, having implored His help, we passed on undiscovered, and came so near that we even heard the Indians talking. We then deemed it time to announce ourselves, as we did by a cry, which we raised with all our

strength, and then halted without advancing any farther. At this cry the Indians rushed out of their cabins, and having probably recognized us as French, especially seeing a black gown, or at least having no reason to distrust us, seeing we were but two, and had made known our coming, they deputed four old men to come and speak with us. Two carried tobacco-pipes well-adorned, and trimmed with many kinds of feathers. They marched slowly, lifting their pipes toward the sun, as if offering them to him to smoke, but yet without uttering a single word. They were a long time coming the little way from the village to us, Having reached us at last, they stopped to consider us attentively. I now took courage, seeing these ceremonies, which are used by them only with friends, and still more on seeing them covered with stuffs, which made me to judge them to be allies. I, therefore, spoke to them first, and asked them who they were; they answered that they were Ilinois, and, in token of peace, they presented their pipes to smoke. They then invited us to their village where all the tribe awaited us with impatience. These pipes for smoking are called in the country, calumets, a word that is so much in use, that I shall be obliged to employ it in order to be understood, as I shall have to speak of it frequently.

Section V.

1673—How the Ilinois Received the Father in Their Village.

AT THE door of the cabin in which we were to be received, was an old man awaiting us in a very remarkable posture, which is their usual ceremony in receiving strangers. This man was standing, perfectly naked, with his hands stretched out and raised toward the

sun, as if he wished to screen himself from its rays, which nevertheless passed through his fingers to his face. When we came near him, he paid us this compliment: "How beautiful is the sun, O Frenchman, when thou comest to visit us! All our town awaits thee, and thou shalt enter all our cabins in peace." He then took us into his, where there was a crowd of people, who devoured us with their eyes, but kept a profound silence. We heard, however, these words occasionally addressed to us: "Well done, brothers, to visit us!"

As soon as we had taken our places, they showed us the usual civility of the country, which is to present the calumet. You must not refuse it, unless you would pass for an enemy, or at least for being impolite. It is, however, enough to pretend to smoke. While all the old men smoked after us to honor us, some came to invite us on behalf of the great sachem of all the Ilinois to proceed to his town, where he wished to hold a council with us. We went with a good retinue, for all the people who had never seen a Frenchman among them could not tire looking at us; they threw themselves on the grass by the wayside, they ran ahead, then turned and walked back to see us again. All this was done without noise, and with marks of a great respect entertained for us.

Having arrived at the great sachem's town, we espied him at his cabin-door, between two old men, all three standing naked, with their calumet turned to the sun. He harangued us in a few words, to congratulate us on our arrival, and then presented us his calumet and made us smoke; at the same time we entered his cabin, where we received all their usual greetings. Seeing all assembled and in silence, I spoke to them by four presents which I made; by the first, I said that we marched in peace to visit the nations on the river to the sea; by the second, I declared to them that God their Creator had pity on them, since,

after their having been so long ignorant of Him, He wished to become known to all nations; that I was sent on His behalf with this design; that it was for them to acknowledge and obey Him; by the third, that the great chief of the French informed them that he spread peace everywhere, and had overcome the Iroquois. Lastly, by the fourth, we begged them to give us all the information they had of the sea, and of the nations through which we should have to pass to reach it.

When I had finished my speech, the sachem rose, and laying his hand on the head of a little slave, whom he was about to give us, spoke thus: "I thank thee, Blackgown, and thee, Frenchman," addressing M. Jollyet, "for taking so much pains to come and visit us; never has the earth been so beautiful, nor the sun so bright, as today; never has our river been so calm, nor so free from rocks, which your canoes have removed as they passed; never has our tobacco had so fine a flavor, nor our corn appeared so beautiful as we behold it today. Here is my son, that I give thee, that thou mayest know my heart. I pray thee to take pity on me and all my nation. Thou knowest the Great Spirit who has made us all; thou speakest to Him and hearest His word; ask Him to give me life and health, and come and dwell with us, that we may know Him." Saying this, he placed the little slave near us and made us a second present, an all-mysterious calumet, which they value more than a slave; by this present he showed us his esteem for our governor, after the account we had given of him; by the third, he begged us, on behalf of his whole nation, not to proceed further, on account of the great dangers to which we exposed ourselves.

I replied, that I did not fear death, and that I esteemed no happiness greater than that of losing my life for the glory of Him who made all. But this these poor people could not understand.

The council was followed by a great feast which consisted of four courses, which we had to take with all their ways; the first course was a great wooden dish full of sagamity, that is to say, of Indian meal boiled in water and seasoned with grease. The master of ceremonies, with a spoonful of sagamity, presented it three or four times to my mouth, as we would do with a little child; he did the same to M. Jollyet. For the second course, he brought in a second dish containing three fish; he took some pains to remove the bones, and having blown upon it to cool it, put it in my mouth, as we would food to a bird; for the third course, they produced a large dog, which they had just killed, but learning that we did not eat it, it was withdrawn. Finally, the fourth course was a piece of wild ox, the fattest portions of which were put into our mouths.

After this feast we had to visit the whole village, which consists of full three hundred cabins. While we marched through the streets, an orator was constantly haranguing, to oblige all to see us without being troublesome; we were everywhere presented with belts, garters, and other articles made of the hair of the bear and wild cattle, dyed red, yellow, and gray. These are their rareties; but not being of consequence, we did not burthen ourselves with them.

We slept in the sachem's cabin, and the next day took leave of him, promising to pass back through his town in four moons. He escorted us to our canoes with nearly six hundred persons, who saw us embark, evincing in every possible way the pleasure our visit had given them. On taking leave, I personally promised that I would return the next year to stay with them, and instruct them. But before leaving the Ilinois country, it will be well to relate what I remarked of their customs and manners.

SECTION VI.

1673—CHARACTER OF THE ILLINOIS—THEIR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS—THEIR ESTEEM OF THE CALUMET, OR TOBACCO PIPE, AND THEIR DANCE IN ITS HONOR.

TO say Ilinois is, in their language, to say "the men," as if other Indians compared to them were mere beasts. And it must be admitted that they have an air of humanity that we had not remarked in the other nations that we had seen on the way. The short stay I made with them did not permit me to acquire all the information I would have desired. The following is what I remarked in their manners:

They are divided into several villages, some of which are quite distant from that of which I speak, and which is called Peouarea. This produces a diversity in their language which in general has a great affinity to the Algonquin, so that we easily understood one another. They are mild and tractable in their disposition, as we experienced in the reception they gave us. They have many wives, of whom they are extremely jealous; they watch them carefully, and cut off their nose or ears when they do not behave well; I saw several who bore the marks of their infidelity. They are well-formed, nimble, and very adroit in using the bow and arrow; they use guns also, which they buy of our Indian allies who trade with the French; they use them especially to terrify their enemies by the noise and smoke, the others lying too far to the west, have never seen them, and do not know their use. They are war-like and formidable to distant nations in the south and west, where they go to carry off slaves, whom they make an article of trade, selling them at a high price to other nations for goods.

The distant nations against whom they go to war, have no knowledge of Europeans; they are acquainted with

neither iron or copper, and have nothing but stone knives. When the Ilinois set out on a war party, the whole village is notified by a loud cry made at the door of their huts the morning and evening before they set out. The chiefs are distinguished from the soldiers by their wearing a scarf ingeniously made of the hair of bears and wild oxen. The face is painted with red lead or ochre, which is found in great quantities a few days' journey from their village. They live by game, which is abundant in this country, and on Indian corn, of which they always gather a good crop, so that they have never suffered from famine. They also sow beans and melons, which are excellent, especially those with a red seed. Their squashes are not of the best; they dry them in the sun, to eat in the winter and spring.

Their cabins are very large; they are lined and floored with rush-mats. They make all their dishes of wood, and their spoons of the bones of the buffalo, which they cut so well, that it serves them to eat their sagamity, easily.

They are liberal in their maladies, and believe that the medicines given them operate in proportion to the presents they have made the medicine-man. Their only clothes are skins; their women are always dressed very modestly and decently, while the men do not take any pains to cover themselves. Through what superstition I know not, some Ilinois, as well as some Nadouessi [Sioux or Dacotas], while yet young, assume the female dress, and keep it all their life. There is some mystery about it, for they never marry, and glory in debasing themselves to do all that is done by women; yet they go to war, though allowed to use only a club, and not the bow and arrow, the peculiar arm of men; they are present at all the juggleries and solemn dances in honor of the calumet; they are permitted to sing, but not to dance; they attend the councils, and nothing can be decided without their advice; finally, by the pro-

fession of an extraordinary life, they pass for manitous [that is, for genii], or persons of consequence.

It now only remains for me to speak of the calumet, than which there is nothing among them more mysterious or more esteemed. Men do not pay to the crowns and sceptres of kings the honor they pay to it; it seems to be the god of peace and war, the arbiter of life and death. Carry it about you and show it, and you can march fearlessly amid enemies, who even in the heat of battle lay down their arms when it is shown. Hence the Ilinois gave me one, to serve as my safeguard amid all the nations that I had to pass on my voyage. There is a calumet for peace, and one for war, distinguished only by the color of the feathers with which they are adorned, red being the sign of war. They use them also for settling disputes, strengthening alliances, and speaking to strangers. It is made of a polished red stone, like marble, so pierced that one end serves to hold the tobacco, while the other is fastened on the stem, which is a stick two feet long, as thick as a common cane, and pierced in the middle; it is ornamented with the head and neck of different birds of beautiful plumage; they also add large feathers of red, green, and other colors, with which it is all covered. They esteem it particularly because they regard it as the calumet of the sun; and, in fact, they present it to him to smoke when they wish to obtain calm, or rain, or fair weather. They scruple to bathe at the beginning of summer, or to eat new fruits, till they have danced it. They do it thus:

The calumet dance, which is very famous among these Indians, is performed only for important matters, sometimes to strengthen a peace or to assemble for some great war; at other times for a public rejoicing; sometimes they do this honor to a nation who is invited to be present; sometimes they use it to receive some important person-

age, as if they wished to give him the entertainment of a ball or comedy. In winter the ceremony is performed in a cabin, in summer in the open fields. They select a place surrounded with trees, so as to be sheltered beneath their foliage against the heat of the sun. In the middle of the space they spread out a large party-colored mat of rushes; this serves as a carpet, on which to place with honor the god of the one who gives the dance; for every one has his own god, or manitou as they call it, which is a snake, a bird, or something of the kind, which they have dreamed in their sleep, and in which they put all their trust for the success of their wars, fishing, and hunts. Near this manitou and at its right, they put the calumet in honor of which the feast is given, making around about it a kind of trophy, spreading there the arms used by the warriors of these tribes, namely, the war-club, bow, hatchet, quiver, and arrows.

Things being thus arranged, and the hour for dancing having arrived, those who are to sing take the most honorable place under the foliage. They are the men and the women who have the finest voices, and who accord perfectly. The spectators then come and take their places around under the branches; but each one on arriving must salute the manitou, which he does by inhaling the smoke and then puffing it from his mouth upon it, as if offering incense. Each one goes first and takes the calumet respectfully, and supporting it with both hands, makes it dance in cadence, suiting himself to the air of the song; he makes it go through various figures, sometimes showing it to the whole assembly by turning it from side to side.

After this, he who is to begin the dance appears in the midst of the assembly, and goes first; sometimes he presents it to the sun, as if he wished it to smoke; sometimes he inclines it to the earth; and at other times he spreads its wings as if for it to fly; at other times, he approaches

it to the mouths of the spectators for them to smoke, the whole in cadence. This is the first scene of the ballet.

The second consists in a combat, to the sound of a kind of drum, which succeeds the songs, or rather joins them, harmonizing quite well. The dancer beckons to some brave to come and take the arms on the mat, and challenges him to fight to the sound of the drums; the other approaches, takes his bow and arrow, and begins a duel against the dancer who has no defence but the calumet. This spectacle is very pleasing, especially as it is always done in time, for one attacks, the other defends; one strikes, the other parries; one flies, the other pursues; then he who fled faces and puts his enemy to flight. This is all done so well with measured steps, and the regular sound of voices and drums, that it might pass for a very pretty opening of a ballet in France.

The third scene consists of a speech delivered by the holder of the calumet, for the combat being ended without bloodshed, he relates the battles he was in, the victories he has gained; he names the nations, the places, the captives he has taken, and as a reward, he who presides at the dance presents him with a beautiful beaver robe, or something else, which he receives, and then he presents the calumet to another, who hands it to a third, and so to all the rest, till all having done their duty, the presiding chief presents the calumet itself to the nation invited to this ceremony in token of the eternal peace which shall reign between the two tribes. * * * * *

We take leave of our Ilinois about the end of June, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and embark in sight of all the tribe, who admire our little canoes, having never seen the like.

We descend, following the course of the river, toward another called Pekitanoui, [the Missouri] which empties

into the Missisipi, coming from the northwest, of which I have something considerable to say, after I have related what I have remarked of this river.

Passing by some pretty high rocks which line the river, I perceived a plant which seemed to me very remarkable. Its root is like small turnips linked together by little fibres, which had the taste of carrots. From this root springs a leaf as wide as the hand, half of a finger thick with spots in the middle; from this leaf spring other leaves like the sockets of chandeliers in our salons. Each leaf bears five or six bell-shaped yellow flowers. We found abundance of mulberries, as large as the French, and a small fruit which we took at first for olives, but it had the taste of an orange, and another as large as a hen's egg; we broke it in half and found two separations, in each of which were encased eight or ten seed shaped like an almond, which are quite good when ripe. The tree which bears them, has, however, a very bad smell, and its leaf resembles that of the walnut. There are also, in the prairies, fruit resembling our filberts, but more tender; the leaves are larger, and spring from a stalk crowned at the top with a head like a sunflower, in which all these nuts are neatly arranged; they are very good cooked or raw.

As we coasted along rocks [near Alton], frightful for their height and length, we saw two monsters painted on one of these rocks, which startled us at first, and on which the boldest Indian dare not gaze long. They are as large as a calf, with horns on the head like a deer, a fearful look, red eyes, bearded like a tiger, the face somewhat like a man's, the body covered with scales, and the tail so long that it twice makes the turn of the body, passing over the head and down between the legs, and ending at last in a fish's tail. Green, red, and a kind of black, are the colors employed. On the whole, these two monsters are so well

painted, that we could not believe any Indian to have been the designer, as good painters in France would find it hard to do as well; besides this, they are so high upon the rock that it is hard to get conveniently at them to paint them. This is pretty nearly the figure of these monsters, as I drew it off.

As we were discoursing of them, sailing gently down a beautiful, still, clear water, we heard the noise of a rapid into which we were about to fall. I have seen nothing more frightful; a mass of large trees, entire, with branches, real floating islands, came rushing from the mouth of the river Pekitanoui, so impetuously, that we could not, without great danger, expose ourselves to pass across. The agitation was so great that the water was all muddy and could not get clear.

Pekitanoui is a considerable river which coming from very far in the northwest, empties into the Missisipi. Many Indian towns are ranged along this river, and I hope, by its means, to make the discovery of the Red, or California sea.

We judged by the direction the Missisipi takes, that if it keeps on the same course it has its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico; it would be very advantageous to find that which leads to the South sea, toward California and this, as I said, I hope to find by Pekitanoui, following the account which the Indians have given me; for from them I learn that advancing up this river for five or six days, you come to a beautiful prairie twenty or thirty leagues long, which you must cross to the northwest. It terminates at another little river on which you can embark, it not being difficult to transport canoes over so beautiful a country as that prairie. This second river runs southwest for ten or fifteen leagues, after which it enters a small lake, which is the source of another deep river, running to the west, where

it empties into the sea. I have hardly any doubt that this is the Red sea, and I do not despair of one day making the discovery, if God does me this favor and grants me health, in order to be able to publish the gospel to all the nations of this new world who have so long been plunged in heathen darkness.

Let us resume our route after having escaped as best we could, the dangerous rapid caused by the obstacle of which I have spoken.

Section VII.

1673—New Countries Discovered by the Father—Various Particulars—Meeting With Some Indians—First Tidings of the Sea and of Europeans—Great Danger Avoided by the Calumet.

AFTER having made about twenty leagues due south, and a little less to the southeast, we came to a river called Ouaboukigou [Wabash, as the Ohio was early called], the mouth of which is at 36 degrees north. Before we arrived there, we passed by a place dreaded by the Indians, because they think that there is a manitou there, that is, a demon who devours all who pass, and of this it was, that they had spoken, when they wished to deter us from our enterprise. The devil is this [rapids above Cairo] —a small bay, full of rocks, some twenty feet high, where the whole current of the river is whirled; hurled back against that which follows, and checked by a neighboring island, the mass of water is forced through a narrow channel: all this is not done without a furious combat of the waters tumbling over each other, nor without a great roaring, which strikes terror into Indians who fear everything.

It did not prevent our passing and reaching Oabskigo. This river comes from the country on the east, inhabited by the people called Chaouanons, in such numbers that they reckon as many as twenty-three villages in one district, and fifteen in another, lying quite near each other; they are by no means warlike, and are the people the Iroquois go far to seek in order to wage an unprovoked war upon them; and, as these poor people can not defend themselves, they allow themselves to be taken and carried off like sheep, and innocent as they are, do not fail to experience, at times, the barbarity of the Iroquois, who burn them cruelly.

A little above, [below?], this river of which I have just spoken, are cliffs where our men perceived an iron mine, which they deemed very rich; there are many veins, and a bed a foot thick. Large masses are found combined with pebbles. There is also there a kind of unctous earth of three colors, purple, violet, and red, the water in which it is washed becomes blood-red. There is also a very heavy, red sand; I put some on a paddle, and it took the color so well, that the water did not efface it for fifteen days that I used it in rowing.

Here we began to see canoes, and large reeds [cane brakes] on the banks of the river; they are of a very beautiful green; all the knots are crowned with long, narrow, pointed leaves; they are very high, and so thick-set, that the wild cattle find it difficult to make their way through them.

Up to the present time we had not been troubled by musquitoes, but we now, as it were, entered their country. Let me tell you what the Indians of these parts do to defend themselves against them. They raise a scaffolding, the floor of which is made of simple poles, and consequently a mere grate-work to give passage to the smoke of

a fire which they build beneath. This drives off the little animals, as they can not bear it. The Indians sleep on the poles, having pieces of bark stretched above them to keep off the rain. This scaffolding shelters them too from the excessive and insupportable heat of the country; for they lie in the shade in the lower story, and are thus sheltered from the rays of the sun, enjoy the cool air which passes freely through the scaffold.

With the same view we were obliged to make on the water a kind of a cabin with our sails, to shelter ourselves from the musquitoes and the sun. While thus borne on at the will of the current, we perceived on the shore Indians armed with guns, with which they awaited us. I first presented my feathered calumet, while my comrades stood to arms, ready to fire on the first volley of the Indians. I hailed them in Huron, but they answered me by a word which seemed to us a declaration of war. They were, however, as much frightened as ourselves, and what we took for a signal of war, was an invitation to come near, that they might give us food; we accordingly landed and entered their cabins, where they presented us wild-beef and bear's oil with white plums, which are excellent. They have guns, axes, hoes, knives, beads, and double glass bottles in which they keep the powder. They wear their hair long and mark their bodies in the Iroquois fashion; the head-dress and clothing of their women were like those of the Huron squaws.

They assured us that it was not more than ten days' journey to the sea; that they bought stuffs and other articles of Europeans on the eastern side; that these Europeans had rosaries and pictures; that they played on instruments; that some were like me, who received them well. I did not, however, see any one who seemed to have received any instruction in the faith; such as I could, I gave them with some medals.

This news roused our courage and made us take up our paddles with renewed ardor. We advanced then, and now begin to see less prairie land, because both sides of the river are lined with lofty woods. The cotton-wood, elm and white-wood, are of admirable height and size. The numbers of wild cattle we heard bellowing, made us believe the prairies near. We also saw quails on the water's edge, and killed a little parrot with half the head red, the rest, with the neck, yellow, and the body green. We had now descended to near 33 degrees north, having almost always gone south, when on the water's edge we perceived a village called Mitchigamea. We had recourse to our patroness and guide, the Blessed Virgin Immaculate; and, indeed, we needed her aid, for we heard from afar the Indians exciting one another to the combat by continual yells. They were armed with bows, arrows, axes, war-clubs, and bucklers, and prepared to attack us by land and water; some embarked in large wooden canoes, a part to ascend, the rest to descend, the river, so as to cut off our way, and surround us completely. Those on shore kept going and coming, as if about to begin the attack. In fact, some young men sprang into the water to come and seize my canoe, but the current having compelled them to return to the shore, one of them threw his war-club at us, but it passed over our heads without doing us any harm. In vain I showed the calumet, and made gestures to explain that we had not come as enemies. The alarm continued, and they were about to pierce us from all sides with their arrows, when God suddenly touched the hearts of the old men on the water-side, doubtless at the sight of our calumet, which at a distance they had not distinctly recognized, but as I showed it continually, they were touched, restrained the ardor of their youth, and two of the chiefs having thrown their bows and quivers into our canoe, and as it were at our feet, entered and brought us to the shore,

where we disembarked, not without fear on our part. We had at first to speak by signs, for not one understood a word of the six languages I knew; at last an old man was found who spoke a little Ilinois.

We showed by our presents, that we were going to the sea; they perfectly understood our meaning, but I know not whether they understood what I told them of God, and the things which concerned their salvation. It is a seed cast in the earth which will bear its fruit in season. We got no answer, except that we would learn all we desired at another great village called Akamsea, only eight or ten leagues farther down the river. They presented us with sagamity and fish, and we spent the night among them, not, however, without some uneasiness.

Section VIII.

1673—Reception Given to the French in the Last of the Towns Which They Saw—Manners and Customs of These Savages—Reasons for Not Going Further.

We embarked next morning with our interpreter, preceded by ten Indians in a canoe. Having arrived about half a league from Akamsea [Arkansas], we saw two canoes coming toward us. The commander was standing up holding in his hand the calumet, with which he made signs according to the custom of the country; he approached us, singing quite agreeably, and invited us to smoke, after which he presented us some sagamity and bread made of Indian corn, of which we ate a little. He now took the lead, making us signs to follow slowly. Meanwhile they had prepared us a place under the war-chiefs'

scaffold; it was neat and carpeted with fine rush mats, on which they made us sit down, having around us immediately the sachems, then the braves, and last of all, the people in crowds. We fortunately found among them a young man who understood Ilinois much better than the interpreter whom we had brought from Mitchigamea. By means of him I first spoke to the assembly by the ordinary presents; they admired what I told them of God, and the mysteries of our holy faith, and showed a great desire to keep me with them to instruct them.

We then asked them what they knew of the sea; they replied that we were only ten days' journey from it [we could have made this distance in five days]; that they did not know the nations who inhabited it, because their enemies prevented their commerce with these Europeans; that the hatchets, knives, and beads, which we saw, were sold them, partly by the nations to the east, and partly by an Ilinois town four days' journey to the west; that the Indians with fire-arms whom we had met, were their enemies who cut off their passage to the sea, and prevented their making the acquaintance of the Europeans, or having any commerce with them; that, besides, we should expose ourselves greatly by passing on, in consequence of the continual war-parties that their enemies sent out on the river, since being armed and used to war, we could not, without evident danger, advance on that river which they constantly occupy.

During this converse, they kept continually bringing us in wooden dishes of sagamity, Indian corn whole, or pieces of dog-flesh; the whole day was spent in feasting.

These Indians are very courteous and liberal of what they have, but they are very poorly off for food, not daring to go and hunt the wild-cattle, for fear of their enemies. It is true, they have Indian corn in abundance, which they

sow at all seasons; we saw some ripe; more just sprouting, and more just in the ear, so that they sow three crops a year. They cook it in large earthen pots, which are very well made; they have also plates of baked earth, which they employ for various purposes. The men go naked, and wear their hair short; they have the nose and ears pierced, and beads hanging from them. The women are dressed in wretched skins; they braid their hair in two plaits, which falls behind their ears; they have no ornaments to decorate their persons. Their banquets are without any ceremonies; they serve their meats in large dishes, and every one eats as much as he pleases, and they give the rest to one another. Their language is extremely difficult, and with all my efforts, I could not succeed in pronouncing some words. Their cabins, which are long and wide, are made of bark; they sleep at the two extremities, which are raised about two feet from the ground. They keep their corn in large baskets, made of cane, or in gourds, as large as half barrels. They do not know what a beaver is; their riches consisting in the hides of wild cattle. They never see snow, and know the winter only by the rain which falls oftener than in summer. We eat no fruit there but watermelons; if they knew how to cultivate their ground, they might have plenty of all kinds.

In the evening the sachems held a secret council on the design of some to kill us for plunder, but the chief broke up all these schemes, and sending for us, danced the calumet in our presence, in the manner I have described above, as a mark of perfect assurance; and then, to remove all fears, presented it to me.

M. Jollyet and I held another council to deliberate on what we should do, whether we should push on, or rest satisfied with the discovery that we had made. After having attentively considered that we were not far from the Gulf of Mexico, the basin of which is 31 degrees, 40

minutes north, and we at 33 degrees 40 minutes, so that we could not be more than two or three days' journey off; that the Missisipi undoubtedly had its mouth in Florida or the Gulf of Mexico, and not on the east, in Virginia, whose seacoast is at 34 degrees north, which we had passed, without having as yet reached the sea, nor on the western side in California, because that would require a west, or west-southwest course, and we had always been going south. We considered, moreover, that we risked losing the fruit of this voyage, of which we could give no information, if we should throw ourselves into the hands of the Spaniards, who would undoubtedly, at least, hold us as prisoners. Besides, it was clear, that we were not in a condition to resist Indians allied to Europeans, numerous and expert in the use of fire-arms, who continually infested the lower part of the river. Lastly, we had gathered all the information that could be desired from the expedition. All these reasons induced us to resolve to return; this we announced to the Indians, and after a day's rest, prepared for it.

Section IX.

1673—Return of the Father, and the Baptism of a Dying Child.

AFTER a month's navigation down the Missisipi, from the 42d to below the 34th degree, and after having published the gospel as well as I could to the nations I had met, we left the village of Akamsea on the 17th of July, to retrace our steps. We accordingly ascended the Missisipi, which gave us great trouble to stem its currents. We left it indeed, about the 28th degree, to enter another river, [the Illinois], which greatly short-

ened our way, and brought us, with little trouble, to the lake of the Ilinois [as Lake Michigan was early called].

We had seen nothing like this river for the fertility of the land, its prairies, woods, wild cattle, stag, deer, wildcats, bustards, swans, ducks, parrots, and even beaver; its many little lakes and rivers. That on which we sailed, is broad, deep, and gentle for sixty-five leagues. During the spring and part of the summer, the only portage is half a league.

We found there an Ilinois town [a few miles below Ottawa, Ill.], called Kaskaskia, composed of seventy-four cabins; they received us well, and compelled me to promise to return and instruct them. One of the chiefs of this tribe, with his young men, escorted us to the Ilinois lake, whence at last we returned in the close of September to the bay of Fetid, whence we had set out in the beginning of June.

Had all this voyage caused but the salvation of a single soul, I should deem all my fatigue well repaid, and this I have reason to think, for, when I was returning, I passed by the Indians of Peoria. I was three days announcing the faith in all their cabins, after which, as we were embarking, they brought me on the water's edge a dying child, which I baptized a little before it expired, by an admirable Providence for the salvation of that innocent soul.

1671-1678—French Plans of Conquest. La Salle's Letters Patent, Etc.

Editorial.

THE success of the French in their plan of colonizing was so great, and the trade with the savages, exchanging fineries, guns, knives, and more than all, spirituous liquors for valuable furs, yielded such exorbitant profits that an impetus was given to still greater enterprises. They involved no less than the hemming in of the British Colonies to the Atlantic coast.

These purposes are boldly avowed in a letter of M. Talon, the King's enterprising Intendant at Quebec, in 1671, to the great Colbert at Paris. The letter is as follows:

Says Talon: "I am no Courtier, and assert, not through a mere desire to please the King, nor without just reason, that this portion of the French Monarchy will become something grand.' 'What I discover around me causes me to foresee this, and these colonies of various nations so long settled on the seaboard already tremble with affright in view of what his Majesty has accomplished here in the interior within seven years. Measures adopted to confine them within narrow limits by taking possession, which I have caused to be effected do not allow them to spread, without subjecting themselves at the same time to be treated as usurpers and to have war waged against them, and this truth is what by all their acts they seem to greatly

fear. They already know that your name is spread abroad among the savages throughout all those countries and that he alone is there regarded by them, [the savages], as the arbitrator of peace and war. All detach themselves insensibly from other Europeans and excepting the Iroquois, of whom I am not as yet assured, we may safely promise ourselves to make the others take up arms whenever we please."*

It is not the purpose of the Editor here to detail the earlier life of Robert Cavalier, later ennobled as the Sieur de la Salle. It is sufficient to refer only to so much of it as relates to the Northwest, to Illinois and the Mississippi Valley.

The French had a decayed wooden fort near the present City of Kingston, Canada. It was named Fort Frontenac and at the time here referred to, it was on the frontier of Canada. La Salle had been put in charge of it. It was a check against the forays of the Iroquois nation upon the settled parts of Canada and its Indian allies. And in 1674 La Salle returned to France and petitioned the King to grant him the Seigniory of Fort Frontenac, together with four leagues of country along the border of Lake Frontenac, [Lake Ontario], and the adjacent islands and inlets, with the usual rights and privileges, that pertained to those who held lands in this country in Seigniory.

[1]. In consideration of this he agreed to repair and maintain said fort in a better state of defense; to have a garrison there equal to that at Montreal, and as many as fifteen to twenty laborers during the first two years to clear and till the land, to provide it, [the fort], with necessary artillery, arms and ammunition so long as he should command there in his Majesty's name.

* Talon to the Minister, Quebec, November 2d, 1671.—H. W. B.

[2]. To repay Count de Frontenac, his Majesty's Governor and Lieutenant General in Canada, the expense he incurred for the establishment of said fort amounting to the sum of twelve to thirteen thousand livres as proved by the statements thereof prepared.

[3]. To make grants of land to all those willing to settle there in the manner usual in said country; to allow them the trade when the settlement would be in the condition required by the edicts and regulations of the Soverign Counsel of said country.

[4]. To attract thither the greatest number possible of Indians; to grant them land for villages and tillage; to teach them trades and induce them to lead lives more conformable to ours, as the said La Salle had begun to do with some success when he commanded there.

[5]. To build a church when there would be one hundred persons; meanwhile to entertain from this very moment one or two Recollet Friars to perform devout services and administer the sacraments there.

[6]. If his Majesty so accepts these proposals he is very humbly supplicated to grant to La Salle letters of Nobility, in consideration of the voyages and discoveries which he made in that country at his own expense during the seven years he has continually lived there, the services he rendered in the country, and those he will continue to render; and all other letters necessary to serve him in the possessary titles to said Seigniory.*

La Salle's petition was granted fully.

Later on La Salle replaced the wooden structure with an enlarged Fort made of stone.

La Salle again sailed for Paris, where he and Colbert matured their plan for La Salle to make further discov-

* La Salle's petition for the grant of Fort Frontenac.—H. W. B.

eries. Agreeably to his petition the King granted him a permit, of May 12th, 1678, "to find a port for the King's vessels in the Gulf of Mexico, to discover the western parts of New France and find a way to penetrate Mexico."

Nothing is said about finding a passage to the South Sea, or discovering where the Mississippi river empties its waters. The explorations of Jolliet and Marquette had settled that geographical problem beyond all cavil. La Salle was further authorized to make new discoveries, construct forts at such places as he thought proper and to enjoy the same monopoly in those places as at Fort Frontenac. All this was on condition that the enterprise should be at his expense, to be completed within five years, and that he should not trade with the savages about the outlets of Lake Superior, or other nations who came there to carry their peltries and beavers to Montreal. Instead, he and his associates were given the privilege of an exclusive trade in Cibola skins.*

The above is condensed from La Salle's license of May 12th, 1678.

Before leaving France the Prince de Conti introduced his friend, Henri de Tonty to La Salle. Being out of employment Tonty, at the instance of the Prince entered the services of La Salle, and suffered the privations with him and became an important historian of his adventures.

Ready and alert, patient and of great courage, quiet and prudent he furthered all of La Salle's plans, followed and defended him under the most dangerous trials with an unselfish fidelity rarely known.

With power thus enlarged La Salle, with Tonty and thirty men, among whom were pilots, sailors, carpenters and other mechanics, with a supply of material necessary

* Cibola was the Spanish name for the American buffalo.

for the intended expedition, left France for Quebec. Here the party were joined by some Canadians and was sent forward to Fort Frontenac.

Here he met Louis Hennepin, a Franciscan Friar, whom it seems had been sent thither along with Fathers Gabriel de la Ribourde and Zenobius Membre, all of the same religious order and chosen to accompany La Salle's expedition.

These Fathers were of a religious order of the Roman Catholic Church. They also were known as grey friars, or grey gowns because their robes were all of that color. They were also known in France, Belgium and Holland as Recollets. Like the Jesuit Fathers they were prominent in the missionary work of Canada and the Mississippi; and their writings form an important part of their first known history.

Father Hennepin became the historian of this expedition of La Salle's as far as the Editor here deems it pertinent to bring it before the reader for the purpose of this volume. Indeed, we would not know of many of the details of La Salle's voyage from Fort Frontenac through the lakes, their connecting rivers or straits and on the Illinois river, but for the account Hennepin has given.

Hennepin wrote three volumes, at as many different times, of his voyage. The first was issued in 1683 at Paris: the second at Utrecht by William Broedelet in 1697; and the third at the same place by Antoine Schouten in 1698. The same year the two last named volumes were translated into English and published at London. The first publication of Hennepin which is styled "Description de la Louisiane" of 1683 remained in the original French for nearly two hundred years, when it was translated into English in 1880 by the late Dr. John Gilmary Shea, with

many references or foot notes by that most eminent scholar and learned historian.

Without entering upon the controversy as to the plagiarisms and falsehoods in Hennepin's later volumes, his statements in the first are regarded as substantially true. He was vain, loquacious and inclined to exaggerate, and would often portray himself as the principal in affairs where he took only a subordinate part.* With this explanation we quote from Hennepin as follows:

1679-1680—HENNEPIN'S NARRATIVE FROM HIS "LA LOUISIANE" OF 1683.

Our boat being in the water out of reach of insult, I proceeded to the fort by Lake Frontenac, in the little brigantine in order to rejoin our Recollects who resided there, in order to enjoy spiritual consolation with them, obtain wine for the celebration of masses, and make the Sieur de la Salle a report of affairs, and we proceeded with him, we three Recollect missionaries, to Niagara, in the beginning of the month of August in the same year, 1679. He found his bark ready to sail, but his people told him that they had not been able to make it ascend beyond the entrance of Lake Conty, [Erie] not having been able to stem with sails the strong current of Niagara river. We embarked to the number of thirty-two persons, with our

* For example, while at Upper Peoria Lake, the Sioux came there clamoring to La Salle for traders. He put Michel Accan and another trusted voyager, in charge of a canoe full of suitable goods, to go down the Illinois and thence on, up the Mississippi to those savages. Hennepin, sent along as a missionary, assumes that he was the principal in the expedition.—The Editor.

two Recollect Fathers who had come to join me, our people having laid in a good supply of arms, merchandise, and seven small iron cannon.

At last, contrary to the pilot's opinion, we succeeded in ascending Niagara river. He made his bark advance by sails when the wind was strong enough, and he had it towed in the most difficult places, and thus we happily reached the entrance of Lake Conty.

We made sail the 7th of the month of August, in the same year 1679, steering west by south. After the "Te Deum" we fired all the cannon and wall pieces, in presence of several Iroquois warriors who were bringing in prisoners from the nations on the prairies, situated more than five hundred leagues from their country, and these savages did not neglect to give a description of the size of our vessel to the Dutch of New York, with whom the Iroquois carry on a great trade in furs, which they carry to them in order to obtain fire arms and goods to clothe themselves.

Our voyage was so fortunate that on the morning of the tenth day, the feast of Saint Lawrence, we reached the entrance of the Detroit [strait] by which Lake Orleans empties into Lake Conty, and which is one hundred leagues from Niagara river. This strait is thirty leagues long and almost everywhere a league wide, except in the middle where it expands and forms a lake of circular form, and ten leagues in diameter, which we called Lake St. Clare, on account of our passing through it, on that Saint's day.

The country on both sides of this beautiful strait is adorned with fine open plains, and you can see numbers of stags, does, deer, bears, by no means fierce, and very good to eat, poules d'inde, and all kinds of game, swans in abundance. Our guys were loaded and decked with several wild animals cut up, which our Indian and our

Frenchmen killed. The rest of the strait is covered with forests, fruit trees like walnuts, chestnuts, plum and apple trees, wild vines loaded with grapes, of which we made some little wine. There is timber fit for building. It is the place in which deer most delight.

We found the current at the entrance of this strait as strong as the tide is before Rouen. We ascended it, nevertheless, steering north and northeast, as far as Lake Orleans. There is little depth as you enter and leave Lake St. Clare, especially as you leave it. The discharge from Lake Orleans divides at this place into several small channels, almost all barred by sandbanks. We were obliged to sound them all, and at last discovered a very fine one, with a depth of at least two or three fathoms of water, and almost a league wide at all points. Our bark was detained here several days by head winds, and this difficulty having been surmounted, we encountered a still greater one at the entrance of Lake Orleans. The north wind which had been blowing some time rather violently, and which drives the waters of the three great lakes into the strait, had so increased the ordinary current there, that it was as furious as the bore is before Caudebec. We could not stem it under sail, although we were then aided by a strong south wind; but as the shore was very fine, we landed twelve of our men who towed it along the beach for half a quarter of an hour, at the end of which we entered Lake Orleans on the 23d of the month of August, and for the second time we chanted Te Deum in thanksgiving, blessing God, who here brought us in sight of a great bay in this lake, where our ancient Recollects had resided to instruct the Hurons in the faith, in the first landing of the French in Canada, and these Indians once very numerous have been for the most part destroyed by the Iroquois.

The same day the bark ran along the east coast of the lake, with a fair wind, heading north by east, till evening

when the wind having shifted to southwest with great violence, we headed northwest, and the next day we found ourselves in sight of land, having crossed by night a great bay, called Sakinam, which sets in, more than thirty leagues.

On the 24th we continued to head northwest till evening, when we were becalmed among some islands, where there was only a fathom and a half or two fathoms of water. We kept on with the lower sails a part of the night to seek an anchorage, but finding none where there was a good bottom, and the wind beginning to blow from the west, we headed north, so as to gain deep water and wait for day, and we spent the night in sounding before the bark, because we had noticed that our pilot was very negligent, and we continued to watch in this way during the rest of the voyage.

On the 25th the calm continued till noon, and we pursued our course to the northwest, favored by a good southerly wind, which soon changed to southwest. At midnight we were compelled to head north on account of a great Point which jutted out into the lake; but we had scarcely doubled it, when we were surprised by a furious gale, which forced us to ply to windward with mainsail and foresail, then to lie to, till daylight.

On the 26th the violence of the wind obliged us to lower the topmasts, to fasten the yards at the clew, to remain broadside to the shore. At noon the waves running too high, and the sea too rough, we were forced to seek a port in the evening, but found no anchorage or shelter. At this crisis, the Sieur de la Salle entered the cabin, and quite disheartened told us that he commended his enterprise to God. We had been accustomed all the voyage to induce all to say morning and evening prayers together on our knees, all singing some hymns of the church, but as we

could not stay on the deck of the vessel, on account of the storm, all contented themselves with making an act of contrition. There was no one but our pilot alone, whom we were never able to persuade.

At this time the Sieur de la Salle adopted, in union with us, Saint Anthony of Padua as the protector of our enterprise, and he promised God if he did us the grace to deliver us from the tempest, that the first chapel he should erect in Louisiana should be dedicated to that great Saint.

The wind having fallen a little we lay to, all the night, and we drifted only a league or two at most.

On the morning of the 27th we sailed northwest with a south-west wind, which changed towards evening into a light south-east trade wind, by favor of which we arrived on the same day at Missilimakinac, where we anchored in six fathoms of water in a bay, where there was a good bottom of potter's clay. This bay is sheltered from southwest to north, a sand bank covers it a little on the northeast, but it is exposed to the south which is very violent.

Missilimakinac ["Point Ignace"] is a point of land at the entrance and north of the strait, by which Lake Dauphin empties into Lake Orleans. This strait is a league wide and three long, and runs west, north-west. Fifteen leagues east of Missilimakinac you find another point which is at the entrance of the channel by which Lake Conde empties into Lake Orleans. This channel has an opening of five leagues, and is fifteen in length. It is interspersed with several islands, and gradually narrows in, down to Sault Sainte Marie, which is a rapid full of rocks, by which the waters of Lake Conde are discharged, and are precipitated in a violent manner. Nevertheless they succeed in poling canoes up one side near the land,

but for greater security a portage is made of the canoe and the goods which they take to sell to the nations north of Lake Conde.

There are Indian villages in these two places; those who are settled at Missilimakinac, on the day of our arrival, which was August 26, 1678 [1679], were all amazed to see a ship in their country, and the sound of the cannon caused an extraordinary alarm.

We went to the Outtaouactz to say mass, and during the service, the Sieur de la Salle, very well dressed in his scarlet cloak trimmed with gold lace, ordered the arms to be stacked along the chapel, and the sergeant left a sentry there to guard them. The chiefs of the Outtauoactz paid us their civility in their fashion, on coming out of the church. And in this bay where the *Griffin* was riding at anchor, we looked with pleasure at this large, well equipped vessel, amid a hundred or a hundred and twenty bark canoes, coming and going from taking white fish, which these Indians catch with nets, which they stretch sometimes in fifteen or twenty fathoms of water, and without which they could not subsist.

The Hurons who have their village surrounded by palisades twenty-five feet high and situated near a great point of land opposite the island of Missilimakinac, proved the next day that they were more French than the Outtaouactz, but it was in show, for they gave a salute by discharging all their guns, and they all have them, and renewed it three times, to do honor to our ship, and to the French, but this salute had been suggested to them by some Frenchmen, who come there, and who often carry on a very considerable trade with these nations, and who designed to gain the Sieur de la Salle by this show, as he gave umbrage to them, only in order better to play their parts subsequently by making it known that the bark was going

to be the cause of destruction to individuals, in order to render the one who had built her, odious to the people.

The Hurons and the Outtaouactz form alliances with one another in order to oppose with one accord the fury of the Iroquois, their sworn enemy. They cultivate Indian corn on which they live all the year, with the fish which they take to season their sagamity. This they make of water and meal of their corn which they crush with a pestle in a trunk of a tree hollowed out by fire.

The Indians of Sainte Marie du Long Sault are called by us the Saulteurs on account of the place of their abode, which is near the Sault, and where they subsist by hunting stags, moose or elk, and some beaver, and by the fishing of white fish, which is very good, and is found there in great abundance, but this fishery is very difficult to all but these Indians who are trained to it from childhood. These latter do not plant any Indian corn as their soil is not adapted to it, and the fogs on Lake Conde which are very frequent, stifle all the corn that they might be able to plant.

Sault St. Marie and Missilimakinac are the two most important passes for all the Indians of the west and north who go to carry all their furs to the French settlements, and to trade every year at Montreal, with more than two hundred loaded canoes.

During our stay at Missilimakinac, we were extremely surprised to find there the greater part of the men whom the Sieur de la Salle had sent on ahead to the number of fifteen, and whom he believed to be long since at the Illinois. Those whom he had known as the most faithful, reported to him that they had been stopped by the statements made to them on their way, at Missilimakinac; that they had been told that his enterprise was only chimerical, that the bark would never reach Missilimakinac, that he

was sending them to certain destruction, and several other things of the kind, which had discouraged and seduced most of their comrades, and that they had been unable to induce them to continue their voyage; that six* of them had even deserted and carried off more than 3,000 livres worth of goods, under the pretext of paying themselves, saying that they would restore the surplus over what was due them, and that the others had stupidly wasted more than twelve hundred livres worth, or spent it for their support at Missilimakinac, where they had been detained, and where provisions are very dear.

The Sieur de la Salle was all the more provoked at this conduct of his men, as he had treated them well, and made some advances to all, among the rest having paid on account of one of them [La Rousseliere] 1200 livres that he owed various persons at Montreal. He had four of the most guilty arrested, without giving them any harsher treatment. Having learned that two of the six deserters [La Rousseliere and Hunaut] were at Sault Sainte Marie he detached the Sieur de Tonty with six men arrested them and seized all the goods which they had in their hands, but he could not obtain any justice as to the others. The high winds at this season long retarded the return of the Sieur de Tonty, who did not reach Missilimakinac till the month of November, so that we were dreading the approach of winter and resolved to set out without waiting till he arrived.

On the 2nd of the month of September, from Missilimakinac we entered Lake Dauphin, [Michigan] and arrived at an island situated at the entrance of the Lake, or Bay of the Puants, forty leagues from Missilimakinac, and which is inhabited by Indians of the Poutouatami nation. [Still called Pottawattomie Island, being one in the chain of several that stretch across the outlet of Green Bay. Here was the chief town.—THE EDITOR.] We found

* St. Croix, Minime, Le Barbier, Poupart, Hunaut, Roussel dit la Rousseliere.

some Frenchmen there, who had been sent among the Illinois in previous years, and who had brought back to the Sieur de la Salle a pretty fair amount of furs.

The chief of this nation ["On-an-ghis-se," or him with a medal] who had all possible affection for the Count de Frontenac, who had entertained him at Montreal, received us as well as he could, had the calumet danced to the Sieur de la Salle by his warriors; and during four days' storm while our vessel was anchored thirty paces from the bay shore, this Indian chief believing that our bark was going to be stranded, came to join us in a canoe at the risk of his life and in spite of the increasing waves, we hoisted him with his canoe into our vessel. He told us in a martial tone that he was ready and wished to perish with the children of Onnontio, the Governor of the French, his good father and friend.

Contrary to our opinion, the Sieur de la Salle, who never took any one's advice, resolved to send back his bark from this place, to continue his route by canoe, but as he had only four, he was obliged to leave considerable merchandise in the bark, a quantity of utensils and tools. He ordered the pilot to discharge every thing at Missilimakinac, where he could take them again on his return. He also put all the peltries in the bark with a clerk and five good sailors. Their orders were to proceed to the great fall of Niagara, where they were to leave the furs, and take on board other goods which another bark from Fort Frontenac, which awaited them near Fort Conty, was to bring them, and that as soon as possible thereafter, they should sail back to Missilimakinac, where they would find instructions as to the place to which they should bring the bark to winter.

They set sail on the 18th of September, with a very favorable light west wind, making their adieu by firing

a single cannon; and we were never afterwards able to learn what course they had taken, and though there is no doubt but that she perished, we were never able to learn any other circumstances of their shipwreck than the following: The bark having anchored in the north of Lake Dauphin, the pilot against the opinion of some Indians, who assured him that there was a great storm in the middle of the lake, resolved to continue his voyage, without considering that the sheltered position where he lay, prevented his knowing the force of the wind. He had scarcely sailed a quarter of a league from the coast, when these Indians saw the bark tossing in an extraordinary manner, unable to resist the tempest, so that in a short time they lost sight of her, and they believe that she was either driven on some sandbank, or that she foundered.

We did not learn all this till next year, and it is certain that the loss of this bark costs more than 40,000 livres in goods, tools and peltries, as well as men and rigging, which he had imported into Canada from France and transported from Montreal to Fort Frontenac in bark canoes. This would appear impossible to those who know the weakness of this kind of craft, and the weight of anchors and cables, on which he paid eleven livres per hundred pounds.

We set out the next day, September 19th, with fourteen persons in four canoes, I directing the smallest, loaded with five hundred pounds, with a carpenter just arrived from France, who did not know how to avoid the waves, during rough weather. I had every difficulty to manage this little craft. These four bark canoes were loaded with a forge and all its appurtenances, carpenters, jointers and pit sawyer's tools, arms and merchandise.

We took our course southerly towards the mainland four good leagues distant from the island of the Poutoua-

tamis. In the middle of the traverse and amid the most beautiful calm in the world, a storm arose which endangered our lives, and which made us fear for the bark, and more for ourselves. We completed this great passage amid the darkness of the night, calling to one another so as not to part company. The water often entered our canoes, and the impetuous wind lasted four days with a fury like the greatest tempests of ocean. We nevertheless reached the shore in a little sandy bay, and stayed five days, waiting for the lake to grow calm. During this stay, the Indian hunter who accompanied us killed, while hunting, only a single porcupine which served to season our squashes and the Indian corn that we had.

On the 25th we continued our route all day, and a part of the night favored by the moon, along the western shore of Lake Dauphin, but the wind coming up a little too strong, we were forced to land on a bare rock, on which we endured the rain and snow for two days, sheltered by our blankets, and near a little fire which we fed with wood that the waves drove ashore.

On the 28th, after the celebration of mass, we kept on until far into the night, and until a whirlwind forced us to land on a rocky point covered with bushes. We remained there two days, and consumed the rest of our provisions, that is to say, the Indian corn and squashes that we had bought of the Poutouatamis and of which we had been unable to lay in a greater supply, because our canoes were too heavily laden, and because we hoped to find some on our route.

We set out the first of October, and after making twelve leagues fasting, arrived near another village of the Poutouatamies. These Indians all flocked to the lake shore to receive us and to haul us in from the waves, which rose to an extraordinary height. The Sieur de la Salle fearing

that his men would desert, and that some of them would carelessly waste some of the goods, pushed on and we were obliged to follow him three leagues beyond the village of the Indians, notwithstanding the evident peril, and he saw no other alternative to take in order to land in safety than to leap into the water with his three canoemen, and all together take hold of the canoe and its load and drag it ashore, in spite of the waves which sometimes covered them over their heads.

He then came to meet the canoe, which I guided with this man who had no experience in this work, and jumping waist high into the water, we carried our little craft all at once, and went to receive the other two canoes in the same manner as the former. And as the waves breaking on the shore formed a kind of undertow, which drags out into the lake those who think they are safe, I made a powerful effort and took on my shoulders our good old Recollect who accompanied us, and this amiable missionary of Saint Francis, seeing himself out of danger, all drenched as he was with water, never failed to display an extraordinary cheerfulness.

As we had no acquaintance with the Indians of this village, the Commandant first ordered all the arms to be got ready, and posted himself on an eminence where it was difficult to surprise us, and whence he could with a small force defend himself against a greater number. He then sent three of his men to buy provisions in the village, under the protection of the calumet of peace which the Poutouatamis of the Island had given the Sieur de la Salle, and which they had previously accompanied with their dances and ceremonies, which they use in their feasts and public solemnities.

This calumet is a kind of large pipe for smoking, the head of which is of a fine red stone well polished, and the

stem two feet and a half long, is a pretty stout cane adorned with feathers of all sorts of colors, very neatly mingled and arranged, with several tresses of woman's hair, braided in various ways, with two wings, such as are usually represented on the Caduceus of Mercury, each nation embellishing it according to its especial usage. A calumet of this kind is a sure passport among all the allies of those who have given it; and they are convinced that great misfortunes would befall them, if they violated the faith of the calumet. And all their enterprises in war and peace and most important ceremonies are sealed and attested by the calumet, which they make all smoke with whom they conclude any matter of consequence.

These three men with this safeguard and their arms, arrived at the little village of the Indians three leagues distant from the landing, but they found no one. These Indians, at the sight of our canoes, perceiving that we had not landed, on passing them, had taken fright and abandoned their village. Accordingly these men after using all endeavors in vain to speak to some of these Indians, took what Indian corn they could carry from their cabins, and left goods there in place of what they appropriated; and then took the road to return to us.

Meanwhile twenty of these Indians armed with guns, axes, bows, arrows and clubs which are called casse-tetes, [skull breakers], approached the place where we were. The Sieur de la Salle advanced to accost them with four of his men armed with guns, pistols and sabres. He asked them what they wished; seeing that they appeared perplexed, he told them to come on, for fear his men, who, he pretended were out hunting, might kill them, if they found them out of the way. He made them sit down at the foot of the rising ground on which we had camped, and from which we could watch all their movements. We began to occupy them with different things, to amuse them till our three

men got back from the village. These men appearing some time afterwards, as soon as the Indians perceived the peace calumet which one of our men carried, they rose uttering a great cry of joy, and began to dance after their fashion. Far from being angry about the Indian corn which they saw, and which had been taken from them, they on the contrary sent to the village to bring more, and gave us some also the next day, as much as we could conveniently put in our canoes.

It was nevertheless deemed prudent to fell the trees around and to command our men to pass the night under arms, for fear of any surprise. About ten o'clock the next day, the old men of the village arrived with their peace calumet and feasted all the French. The Sieur de la Salle thanked them by a present of some axes, knives and some masses of beads for their women's adornment, and left them very well satisfied.

We set out the same day, October 2d, and we sailed for four days along the shore. It was bordered by great hills running abruptly down to the lake, where there was scarcely place to land. We were even forced every evening to climb to the summit, and carry up there our canoes and cargoes, so as not to leave them exposed by night to the waves that beat the foot. We were also obliged by too violent head-winds, during these four days and very frequently afterwards, to land with the greatest hardship. To embark, it required that two men should go waist high into the water, and hold the canoe head on to the wave, pushing it ahead or drawing it back as the wave rolled in or ran out from land, until it was loaded. Then it was pushed out to wait till the others were loaded in the same way; and we had almost as much trouble at the other landings. The Indian corn, that we ate very sparingly, and provisions failing us, our good old Recollect had several times fainting fits. I twice brought him to, with a little confection of hyacinth,

which I preserved preciously. For twenty-four hours we ate only a handful of Indian corn cooked under the ashes or merely boiled in water, and during all the time we were obliged to keep on towards a good country and to paddle with all our strength, whole days. Our men frequently ran for little haws and wild fruit, which they ate with great avidity. Several fell sick who thought that these fruits had poisoned them. The more we suffered, the more God seemed to give me, especially, strength, and I often outstripped in paddling our other canoes. During this scarcity, He who cares for the smallest birds, allowed us to see several crows and eagles, which were on the lake shore. Plying our paddles with redoubled zeal towards these carnivorous birds, we found there half a very fat deer which the wolves had killed and half eaten. We recruited ourselves on the flesh of this animal, blessing Providence which had sent us such timely aid.

Thus our little fleet advanced toward the South where we found the country always finer and more temperate.

On the 16th of October [1679] we began to find a great abundance of game, and our Indian, a very excellent hunter, killed stags and deer, and our Frenchmen very fat poules d'inde [wild turkeys]. And at last on the 28th of the month of October we reached the extremity or southern trend of Lake Dauphin, where the heavy wind forced us to land.

We went out to scout, as we were accustomed to do, in the woods and prairies. We found very good ripe grapes, the berries of which were as large as damson plums. To get this fruit we had to cut down the trees on which the vines ran. We made some wine which lasted us nearly three months and a half and which we kept in gourds. These we put every day in the sand to prevent the wine from souring, and in order to make it last longer, we said mass

only on holidays and Sundays, one after the other. All the woods were full of vines which grow wild. We ate this fruit to make the meat palatable, which we were forced to eat without bread.

Fresh footprints of men were noticed at this place. This forced the Sieur de la Salle to keep his men on their guard, and without making any noise. All our men obeyed for a time, but one of them having perceived a bear, could not restrain himself from firing his gun at it, which killed the animal and sent it rolling from the top of the mountain to the bottom, to the very foot of our cabins.

This noise revealed to us a hundred and twenty-five Indians of the nation of the Outouagamis, [Fox Indians] who live near the extremity of the Bay of the Puants who were cabined in our vicinity. The Sieur de la Salle was very uneasy about the trails we had seen. He blamed our men for their lack of prudence, and then to prevent surprises, he placed a sentinel near the canoes, under which all the goods were placed to protect them from the rain.

This precaution did not prevent thirty Outouagamis under cover of the rain which was falling in torrents, and through the negligence of the sentinel who was on duty, from gliding by night with their usual dexterity, along the hill where our canoes were, and lying on their bellies near one another, succeed[ing] in stealing the coat of the Sieur de la Salle's lackey, and a part of what was under, which was passed from hand to hand. Our sentinel hearing some noise and rousing us, each one ran to arms. These Indians seeing themselves thus discovered, their chief called out that he was a friend. He was told in answer, that it was an unseasonable hour, and that people did not come in that way by night except to steal, or kill those who were not on their guard.

He replied that in truth, the shot that had been fired, had made his countrymen all think that it was a party of Iroquois, their enemies, as the other Indians, their neighbors, did not use such fire-arms, and that they had accordingly advanced with the intent of killing them, but having discovered that they were Frenchmen whom they regarded as their brethren, the impatience which they felt to see them, had prevented their waiting for daylight to visit us and to smoke in our calumet with us. This is the ordinary compliment of these Indians, and their greatest marks of affection.

We pretended to credit these reasons, and they were told to approach to the number of four or five only, because their young men were given to stealing, and that our Frenchmen were in no humor to put up with it. Four or five old men having advanced we endeavored to entertain them till daylight; when day came we left them at liberty to retire.

After their departure, our ship carpenters perceived that they had been robbed, and as we knew perfectly the disposition of the Indians, and we knew that they would form similar enterprises every night, if we dissembled on this occasion, we resolved to insist on redress. The Sieur de la Salle at the head of our men ascended an eminence of peninsular form; he tried in person to find some Indian off by himself; he had scarcely marched three hundred paces, when he found the fresh trail of a hunter. He followed him, pistol in hand, and having overtaken him soon after opposite a hill, where I was gathering grapes with Father Gabriel, he called me and begged me to follow him. He seized and put him under guard of his men, after having learned from him all the circumstances of the theft. He again took the field with two of his men, and having arrested one of the most important Indians of his nation,

he showed him at a distance the one he already held as a prisoner, and sent him back to tell his people, that he would kill their comrade, if they did not bring back all that they had stolen during the night.

This proposition embarrassed these savages, because they had cut the lackey's coat in pieces, and taken some goods with the buttons to divide them among them. Thus unable to restore them whole, and not knowing by what means to deliver their comrade, as they have a strong friendship for one another, they resolved to rescue him by force.

The next morning, 30th of the month of October, they all advanced arms in hand to begin the attack. The peninsula, where we were encamped, was separated from the wood where the Indians appeared by a long sandy plain two gun shots wide. At the end of this plain towards the wood we noticed that there were several small mounds, and that the one nearest to us commanded the others. This the Sieur de la Salle occupied and commanded five men who carried their blankets half rolled around the left arm, to shield themselves against the arrows of the Indians. He followed his men immediately after, to support the former, but the youngest of the Indians, seeing the French approach to charge on them, drew off and took to cover under a large tree on the hill. This did not prevent their chiefs from continuing to remain near us.

There were only seven or eight who had guns, the others had bows and arrows only; and during all these manoeuvres on both sides, we three Recollets were there saying our office, and as I was the one of the three who had seen most in matters of war, having served as King's chaplain under the direction of the Very Rev. Father Hayacinth le Fevre, I came out of our cabin to see what figure our men made under arms and to encourage two of the youngest whom I saw grow pale, and who nevertheless made for all

that a show of being brave and haughty as much as their leader. I approached in the direction of the oldest Indian, and as they saw that I was unarmed, they readily inferred that I approached them with a view to part the combatants and to become the mediator of their differences. One of our men seeing a band of red stuff, which served as a head band to one of these Indians, went and tore it off his head, giving him to understand that he had stolen it from us.

This bold act of eleven armed Frenchmen against a hundred and twenty-five Indians, so intimidated these savages that two of their old men near whom I was, presented the peace calumet, and having advanced on the assurance given that they could do so without any fear, they said that they had not resorted to this extreme course, except from the inability they were in to restore what they had stolen from us, in the condition in which they had taken it; that they were ready to restore what was whole, and to pay for the rest. At the same time they presented some beaver robes to the Sieur de la Salle to dispose his mind to peace, excusing themselves for the small value of their present, as the season was too far advanced. We contented ourselves with their excuses, they fulfilled what they had promised, and thus peace was restored.

The next day was spent in dances, in feasts and speeches, and the head chief of these Indians turning towards the Recollects, said: "See, the Grey Gowns, for whom we feel great esteem! they go bare-footed like us, they despise the beaver robes which we wish to give them, without any hope of return; they have no arms to kill us; they flatter and caress our little children, and give them beads for nothing, and those of our nation who have carried furs to the villages of the French have told us that the Onnotio, the great chief of the French, loves them, because they have

come and visit us, and to remain with us. You are the chief of those who are here, arrange so as to make one of the Gray Gowns remain with us. We will give them part of all we have to eat, and we will take them to our village after we have killed some buffalo; and you who are the master, arrange so as to stay here also with us; do not go to the Islinois, for we know that they wish to massacre all the French. It will be impossible for you to resist that numerous nation. He added that since an Iroquois, whom the Islinois had burned, had assured them that the war which the Iroquois made on them, had been advised by the French, who hated the Islinois. They added several like reasons which alarmed almost all our Frenchmen, and greatly disquieted the Sieur de la Salle, because all the Indians whom he had met on our whole route, had told him pretty nearly the same thing.

Nevertheless as he knew that these reasons might have been inspired by those who opposed our enterprise and by the jealousy of the Indians to whom the Islinois were formidable by their valor, and who feared that they might become still more haughty, when by means of the French they had acquired the use of fire arms, we resolved to pursue our course, taking all necessary precautions for our safety.

He accordingly answering the Outouagamis, told them that he thanked them for the information which they gave us, but that the French who are spirits [the Indians so style us, saying that they are only men, but that we are spirits] did not fear the Islinois, and that we would bring them to reason by friendship or by force.

The next day, the first of the month of November, we all re-embarked and we arrived at the rendezvous, which we had arranged with twenty other Frenchmen who were to come and meet us by the other side of the lake. It was at

the mouth of the river of Miamis, [the Saint Joseph of Lake Michigan], which coming from the south empties into Lake Dauphin.

We were surprised to find no one there, because the French whom we expected, had had a much shorter route to make than we had, and their canoes were not heavily laden.

We had resolved to make the Sieur de la Salle see that he ought not to expose us unseasonably and not to wait for winter, to conduct us to the Islinois, because during that season these nations, in order to hunt more conveniently, break up into families or bands of two or three hundred persons each, and that the longer we lingered in that spot, the greater difficulty we should find in getting there. That as the hunting began to fail where we were, his whole party ran a risk of starving to death, and that among the Islinois we should find Indian corn for our food, and that we should live better, being only fourteen men by our route, than if we were thirty-two; that if the rivers should freeze over, we would not be able of ourselves to carry all the equipage, for a hundred leagues. He answered us that when the twenty men whom he expected had joined us, he would be able without danger to make himself known to the first band of Islinois whom he should find hunting, and gain them by kind treatment, and by presents, learning some tincture of the Islinois language, and that by this means he would easily form alliance with the rest of the nation.

We understood by similar remarks, that he regarded his own will alone as reason; and he told us that if all his men deserted he would remain with our Indian hunter, and that he would easily find means by hunting to enable the three Recollect missionaries to live.

In this thought, he availed himself of the delay of the Frenchmen whom he expected; he told his men that he

was resolved to wait, and to amuse them by some useful occupation, he proposed to them to build a fort, and a house for the security of the bark and of the goods which she was to bring, in order to serve us as a refuge in case of need.

There was at the mouth of the river of the Miamis [on the north side as Hennepin's and other maps place the fort] an eminence with a kind of platform on top and naturally fortified. It was high and steep, of triangular figure, formed on two sides by the river, and on the other by a deep ravine. He felled the trees by which it was covered and cleared away the underbrush for two gun shots in the direction of the woods. Then he began a redoubt forty feet long by eighty broad, fortified by squared beams and joists, and musket proof, laid one on another; his design being to put inclined palisades around the two sides facing the river. He cut down palisades which he wished to plant, en tenaille twenty-five feet high on the land side.

The month of November was spent in these works, during which time we ate nothing but bear meat that our hunter killed. There were at this place many of these animals, that were attracted to it by the great quantities of grapes growing everywhere there; but our people seeing the Sieur de la Salle all unmanned by the fear he entertained of the loss of his bark, and utterly annoyed also at the delay of his men, whom the Sieur de Tonty was to bring us, the rigorous setting in of winter as a climax disheartening them, the mechanics worked only reluctantly, storming against the fat bear meat, and at their being deprived of liberty to go and kill deer to eat with the bear fat, but their aim all tended to desertion.

We made a bark cabin during this halt, in order to say mass more conveniently, and on holidays and Sundays

Father Gabriel and I preached alternately, choosing the most impressive matters to exhort our men to patience and perseverance.

From the commencement of the same month we had examined the mouth of the river. We had marked a sand bank there, and to facilitate the entrance of the bark, in case it arrived, the channel was marked out by two tall poles planted on either side of the entrance, with bear skin pendants, and buoys all along. We had, moreover, sent to Missilimakinac two of our men, informed of all things, to serve as guides to Luke, the pilot.

On the 20th of November, the Sieur de Tonty arrived with two canoes loaded with several stags. This revived a little the drooping spirits of our workmen, but as he brought us only half of the men whom we expected, and had left the rest at liberty three days from our works, this gave the Sieur de la Salle some uneasiness; our new comers said that the bark had not touched at Missilimakinac, and that they had heard no tidings of her from the Indians, coming from all sides of the lakes, nor from the two men who had been sent to Missilimakinac and whom they had met on the way. He feared, and with reason, that his bark had been wrecked. Nevertheless he kept his men working at the Fort of the Miamis, as he called it, and not seeing her appear after waiting so long, he resolved to set out, for fear of being stopped by the ice, which began to close the river, and which broke up at the first light rain. Nevertheless we had to wait for the rest of the men whom the Sieur de Tonty had left behind, and to repair the fault that he had committed, he retraced his steps to make them come on and join us at once. On the way he wished to hold a little, and resist the high wind, against the opinion of Sieur Dautray and his other canoeman, and as he had only one hand and could not help his two men the waves made them yaw, and threw them broadside on

the lake shore, where they lost their guns and their little baggage. This obliged them to come back to us, and fortunately the rest of our men followed soon after them, except two whom we most mistrusted and who, we believed, had deserted.

We embarked on the 3d of December with thirty men in eight canoes and ascended the river of the Miamis, [to near South Bend, Indiana] taking our course to the southeast for about twenty-five leagues. We could not make out the portage which we were to take with our canoes and all our equipage, in order to go and embark at the source of the River Seignelay [Kankakee] and as we had gone higher up in a canoe without discerning the place where we were to march by land to take this other river, which runs to the Islinois, we halted to wait for the Sieur de la Salle, who had gone exploring on land, and as he did not return, we did not know what course to pursue. I begged two of our most alert men to penetrate into the woods and fire off their guns so as to give him notice of the spot where we were waiting for him. Two others ascended the river but to no purpose, for the night obliged them to retrace their steps.

The next day I took two of our men on a lightened canoe, to make greater expedition, and to seek him by ascending the river, but in vain, and at four o'clock in the afternoon we perceived him at a distance, his hands and face all black with the coals and the wood that he had lighted during the night which was cold. He had two animals [opossums] of the size of muskrats, hanging at his belt, which had a very beautiful skin, like a kind of ermine, which he killed with blows of a stick, without these little animals taking flight, and which often let themselves hang by the tail from branches of trees, and as they were very fat, our canoemen feasted on them. He told us that the marshes he met with obliged him to

make a wide sweep, and as moreover he was hindered by the snow which was falling rapidly, he was unable to reach the bank of the river before two o'clock at night. He fired two gun shots to notify us, and no one having answered him, he thought that the canoes had gone on ahead of him, and kept on his way, along and up the river. After marching in this way more than three hours, he saw fire on a mound, which he ascended brusquely, and after calling two or three times, but instead of finding us asleep as he expected, he saw only a little fire among some brush, and under an oak tree, the spot where a man had been lying down on dry herbs, and who had apparently gone off at the noise which he had heard. It was some Indian who had gone there in ambush to surprise and kill some of his enemies along the river. He called him in two or three languages, and at last to show him that he did not fear him, he cried that he was going to sleep in his place. He renewed the fire and after warming himself well, he took steps to guarantee himself against surprise, by cutting down around him a quantity of bushes, which falling across among those that remained standing, blocked the way, so that no one could approach him without making considerable noise, and awakening him. He then extinguished his fire and slept, although it snowed all night.

Father Gabriel and I begged the Sieur de la Salle not to leave his party as he had done showing him that the whole success of our voyage depended on his presence.

Our Indian had remained behind us to hunt, and not finding us at the portage, he went higher up, and came to tell us that we would have to descend the river. All our canoes were sent with him, and I remained with the Sieur de la Salle, who was very much fatigued, and as our cabin was composed only of flag mats, it took fire at night and would have burnt us, had I not promptly thrown off

the mat which served as a door to our little quarters, and which was all in flames.

We rejoined our party the next day, at the portage where Father Gabriel had made several crosses on the trees, that we might recognize it. We found there a number of buffalo horns and the carcasses of those animals, and some canoes that the Indians had made, of Buffalo skins, to cross the river with their load of meat.

This place is situated on the edge of a great plain, at the extremity of which on the western side is a village of Miamis, Mascoutens and Oiatinon gathered together.

The river Seignelay which flows to the Islinois [Indians] rises in a plain in the midst of much boggy land, over which it is not easy to walk. This river is only a league and a half distant from that of the Miamis, and thus we transported all our equipage and our canoes by a road which we marked for the benefit of those who might come after us, after leaving at the portage of the Miami river as well as at the fort which we had built at its mouth, letters to serve as a guide to those who were to come and join us by the bark to the number of twenty-five.

The river Seignelay [Kankakee] is navigable for canoes to within a hundred paces of its source, and it increases to such an extent in a short time, that it is almost as broad, and deeper than the Marne. It takes its course through vast marshes, where it winds about so, though its current is pretty strong, that after sailing on it for a whole day, we sometimes found that we had not advanced more than two leagues in a straight line. As far as the eye could reach nothing was to be seen but marshes full of flags and alders. For more than forty leagues of the way, we could not have found a camping ground, except for some hummocks of frozen earth on which we slept and lit our fire. Our provisions ran out and we could find no

game after passing these marshes, as we hoped to do, because there are only great open plains, where nothing grows except tall grass, which is dry at this season, and which the Miamis had burned while hunting buffalo, and with all the address we employed to kill some deer, our hunters took nothing; for more than sixty leagues journey, they killed only a lean stag, a small deer, some swans, and two wild geese for the subsistence of thirty-two men. If our canoe-men had found a chance, they would infallibly have all abandoned us, to strike inland and join the Indians whom we discerned by the flames of the prairies to which they had set fire in order to kill the buffalo more easily.

These animals are ordinarily in great numbers there, as is easy to judge by the bones, the horns and skulls that we saw on all sides. The Miamis hunt them at the end of autumn in the following manner:

When they see a herd, they gather in great numbers, and set fire to the grass everywhere around these animals, except some passage which they leave on purpose, and where they take post with their bows and arrows. The buffalo, seeking to escape the fire, are thus compelled to pass near these Indians, who sometimes kill as many as a hundred and twenty in a day, all of which they distribute according to the wants of the families; and these Indians all triumph over the massacre of so many animals, come to notify their women, who at once proceed to bring in the meat. Some of them at times take on their backs three hundred pounds weight, and also throw their children on top of their load which does not seem to burthen them more than a soldier's sword at his side.

These animals have very fine wool instead of hair, and the females have it longer than the males. Their horns are almost all black, much thicker than those of cattle in Europe, but not quite so long. Their head is of monstrous

size; the neck is very short, but very thick, and sometimes six hands broad. They have a hump or slight elevation between the two shoulders. Their legs are very thick and short, covered with a very long wool. On the head and between the horns they have long, black hair, which falls over their eyes and gives them a fearful look. The meat of these animals is very succulent. They are very fat in autumn, because all the summer they are up to their necks in the grass. These vast countries are so full of prairies, that it seems this is the element and the country of the buffalo. There are at near intervals some woods where these animals retire to ruminate, and to get out of the heat of the sun. These wild cattle or bulls change country according to the season and the diversity of climate. When they approach the northern lands and begin to feel the beginning of winter, they pass to the southern lands. They follow one another on the way sometimes for a league. They all lie down in the same place, and their resting ground is often full of wild purslain, which we have sometimes eaten. The paths by which they have passed are beaten like our great roads in Europe, and no grass grows there. They cross rivers and streams. The wild cows go to the islands to prevent the wolves from eating their calves; and even when the calves can run, the wolves would not venture to approach them, as the cows would exterminate them. The Indians have this forecast not to drive these animals entirely from their countries, to pursue only those who are wounded by arrows, and the others that escape, they suffer to go at liberty without pursuing them further in order not to alarm them too much. And although these Indians of these vast continents are naturally given to destroy the animals, they have never been able to exterminate these wild cattle, for however much they hunt them these beasts multiply so that they return in still greater numbers the following year.

The Indian women spin on the distaff the wool of these cattle, out of which they make bags to carry the meat, boucanned and sometimes dried in the sun, which these women keep frequently for three or four months of the year, and although they have no salt, they dry it so well that the meat undergoes no corruption; four months after they have thus dressed this meat, one would say on eating it that the animals had just been killed, and we drank the broth with them instead of water which is the ordinary drink of all the nations of America, who have no intercourse with Europeans.

The ordinary skins of these wild cattle weigh from one hundred to a hundred and twenty pounds. The Indians cut off the back and the neck part which is the thickest part of the skin, and they take only the thinnest part of the belly, which they dress very neatly, with the brains of all kinds of animals, by means of which they render it as supple as our chamois skins dressed with oil. They paint it with different colors, trim it with white and red porcupine quills, and make robes of it to parade in their feasts. In winter they use them to cover themselves especially at night. Their robes which are full of curly wool have a very pleasing appearance.

When the Indians have killed any cows, the little calves follow the hunters, and go and lick their hands or fingers, [and] these Indians sometimes take them to their children and after they have played with them they knock them on the head to eat them. They preserve the hoofs of all these little animals, dry them and fasten them to rods, and in their dances they shake and rattle them, according to the various postures and motions of the singers and dancers. This machine somewhat resembles a tambour.

These little animals might easily be domesticated and used to plough the land.

These wild cattle subsist in all seasons of the year. When they are surprised by winter and cannot reach in time the southern land and the warm country, and the ground is all covered with snow, they have the tact to turn up and throw aside the snow, to crop the grass hidden beneath. They are heard lowing, but not as commonly as in Europe.

These wild cattle are much larger in body than ours in Europe, especially in the forepart. This great bulk, however, does not prevent their moving very fast, so that there are very few Indians who can run them down. These bulls often kill those who have wounded them. In the season you see herds of two and even four hundred.

Many other kinds of animals are found in these vast plains of Louisiana, stags, deer, beaver and otter are common there, geese, swans, turtles, poules d'inde, parrots, partridges, and many other birds swarm there, the fishery is very abundant, and the fertility of the soil is extraordinary. There are boundless prairies interspersed with forests of tall trees, where there are all sorts of building timber, and among the rest excellent oak, full like that in France and very different from that in Canada. The trees are of prodigious girth and height, and you could find the finest pieces in the world for ship building which can be carried on upon the spot, and wood could be brought as ballast in the ships to build all the vessels of France, which would be a great saving to the State and would give the trees in our nearly exhausted forests time to grow again.

Several kinds of fruit trees are also to be seen in the forests, and wild grape vines which produce clusters about a foot and a half long which ripen perfectly, and of which very good wine can be made. There are also to be seen fields covered with very good hemp, which grows there naturally to a height of six or seven feet. To conclude, by the experiments that we have made among the Islinois

and the Isati, we are convinced that the soil is capable of producing all kinds of fruits, herbs and grain, and in greater abundance than the best lands in Europe. The air there is very temperate and healthy, the country is watered by countless lakes, rivers and streams, most of which are navigable. One is scarcely troubled at all by musquitoes or other noxious creatures, and by cultivating the ground, people could subsist there from the second year, independent of provisions from Europe.

This vast continent will be able in a short time to supply all our West India islands with bread, wine and meat, and our French buccaneers and fillibusters will be able to kill wild cattle in greater abundance in Louisiana than in all the rest of the islands which they occupy.

There are mines of coal, slate, iron and the lumps of pure red copper, which are found in various places, indicate that there are mines and perhaps other metals and minerals, which will one day be discovered, inasmuch as a salt and alum spring has already been found among the Iroquois.

We continued our route on the river Seignelay during the rest of the month of December; and at last, after having sailed for a hundred and twenty or a hundred and thirty leagues from Lake Dauphin on the River Seignelay, we arrived at the village of the Islinois towards the close of the month of December, 1679. We killed on the river bank only a single buffalo, and some poules d'inde, because the Indians having set fire to the dry grass of all the prairies on our route, the deer had taken fright, and with all the skill adopted in hunting, we subsisted only by a pure Providence of God, who gives strength at one time that he does not at another, and by the greatest happiness in the world, when we had nothing any more to eat, we found an enormous buffalo mired on the bank of the

river, that twelve of our men had difficulty in dragging to solid ground with a cable.

This Islinois village is situated at forty degrees of latitude [along the shallows below Ottawa, Ill.] in a somewhat marshy plain, and on the right [or north] bank of a river as broad as the Seine before Paris, which is divided by very beautiful islands. It contains four hundred and sixty cabins, made like long arbors and covered with double mats of flat flags, so well sewed, that they are never penetrated by the wind, snow or rain. Each cabin has four or five fires, and each fire has one or two families, who all live together in a good understanding.

As we had foreseen, we found the village empty, all the Indians having gone to pass the winter hunting in various places according to their custom. Their absence, nevertheless, put us in great embarrassment; provisions failed and we durst not take the Indian corn which the Islinois hide in trenches under ground to preserve it, and use on their return from the hunt for planting and subsistence till harvest. This stock is extremely precious in their eyes, and you could not give them greater offense than by touching it in their absence. Nevertheless, as there was no possibility of our risking a further descent without food, and the fire that had been set to the prairies had driven off all the animals, the Sieur de la Salle resolved to take twenty bushels of Indian corn, hoping that he would be able to appease the Islinois by some means.

The same day we re-embarked with this new supply, and for four days we descended the same river, which runs south by west.

On the first day of the year 1679 [1680], discovering one of our deserters, of whom I have heretofore spoken, and that he had returned to us, only to seduce our men, who, moreover, were disposed to abandon us, through the fear

they had of suffering hunger during the winter, I made an exhortation after the mass, wishing a happy New Year to the Sieur de la Salle and all our party, and after the most touching words, I begged all our malcontents to arm themselves with patience, representing to them that God would provide for all our wants, and that if we lived in concert, He would raise up means to enable us to subsist. Father Gabriel, Father Zenobius and I embraced them with the most affectionate sentiments, encouraging them to continue so important a discovery.

Towards the end of the fourth day, while crossing a little lake [upper Peoria Lake], formed by the river, we observed smoke, which showed us that the Indians were cabined near there. In fact, on the fifth, about nine o'clock in the morning, we saw on both sides of the river a number of parrakeets [pirogues or wooden canoes] and about eighty cabins full of Indians, who did not perceive our canoes, until we doubled a point, behind which the Islinois were camped within half gun shot. We were in eight canoes, abreast, all our men arms in hand, and allowing ourselves to go with the current of the river.

We first gave the cry according to the custom of these nations, as though to ask whether they wished peace or war, because it was very important to show resolution at the outset. At first the old men, the women and children took flight across the woods by which the river is bordered, the warriors ran to arms, but with so much confusion, that before they recovered themselves, our canoes had touched land. The Sieur de la Stlle was the first to leap ashore.

The Indians might have been routed in the disorder they were in; but as this was not our design, we halted in order to give the Islinois time to regain confidence. One of their chiefs who was on the other side of the river

and who had observed that we had refrained from firing on seven or eight Indians whom we might easily have killed, began a harangue to stop the young men who were preparing to discharge arrows across the river. Those who were encamped on the side where we had landed, and who had taken flight at first, having understood the situation, sent two of the chief men among them to present the calumet from the top of a hill; soon after those who were on the other side did the same thing and then we gave them to understand that we accepted the peace; and at the same time I proceeded in haste with Father Zenobius in the direction of the Indians who had taken flight, taking their children by the hand, who were all trembling with fear; we manifested much affection for them, entering with the old men and the mothers into the cabins, taking compassion on these souls, which are going to destruction, being deprived of the word of God and lacking missionaries. The joy of both was as great as their fear had been violent; that of some having been such that it was two days before they returned from the places to which they had gone to hide.

After the rejoicings, the dances and feasts to which they devoted the day, we assembled the chiefs of the villages, which were on both sides of the river; we made known by our interpreter that we, Recollects, had not come among them to gather beaver, but to give them a knowledge of the great Master of Life, and to instruct their children; that we had left our country, which was beyond the sea, to come and dwell among them, and to be of the number of their greatest friends.

We heard a great chorus of voices, Tepatoui Nicka, which means: "See what is good my brother; you have a mind well made to conceive this thought," and at the same time they rubbed our legs down to the sole of the feet near the fire with bear's oil and buffalo grease to relieve our fatigue.

They put the first three morsels of meat in our mouth with extraordinary marks of friendship.

Immediately after, the Sieur de la Salle made them a present of tobacco and some axes. He told them that he had convoked them to treat of an affair which he wished to explain to them, before he spoke to them of any other; that he knew how necessary corn was to them; that nevertheless, the want of provisions in which he found himself on arriving at their village, and the impossibility of finding any game on the prairies, had obliged him to take a certain quantity of Indian corn, which he had in his canoes, and which he had not yet touched; that if they were willing to leave it in his hands, he would give them in exchange axes and other things which they needed, and that if they could not spare it they were free to take it back; but that if they could not supply him the provisions necessary for his subsistence and that of his men, he would go to their neighbors the Osages, who would furnish him some on paying for it, and that in return he would leave with them the blacksmith whom he had brought to mend their axes and other instruments.

He spoke to them in this manner, because he was well aware that the Islinois would not fail to be jealous of the advantages that the French might give their neighbors, and especially that they would derive from a blacksmith, of whom they were themselves excessively in need. They accordingly accepted with great demonstrations of joy the payment that he offered them for their Indian corn. They even gave more and earnestly begged us to settle among them.

We answered that we would do so willingly, but that as the Iroquois were subjects of the king and consequently our brethren, we could not make war on them; that for this reason we exhorted them to make peace with that nation, that we would aid them to do so, and that if in spite of our re-

monstrances, that haughty nation came to attack them, we would defend them provided they permitted us to build a fort, in which we could make head against the Iroquois with the few Frenchmen that we had; that we would even furnish them arms and ammunition, provided they used them only to repel their enemies, and did not employ [them] against the nations that lived under the protection of the king whom the Indians call the Great Chief who is beyond the great lake.

We then added that we also intended to bring over other Frenchmen who would protect them from the attacks of all their enemies and would furnish all that they needed; that we were hindered only by the length and difficulty of the way. That to surmount this obstacle, we had resolved to build a great wooden canoe to sail down to the sea, and bring them all kinds of merchandise by that shorter and more easy way. But as this enterprise required a great outlay, we wished to learn whether their river was navigable to the sea, and whether other Europeans dwelt near its mouth.

The Islinois replied that they accepted all our proposals, and that they would assist us as far as they could. Then they gave a description of the river Colbert or Meschasipi; they told us wonders of its width and beauty, and they assured us that the navigation was free and easy, and that there were no Europeans near its mouth; but what most convinced us that this river was navigable, is that they named four nations to us, of whom there is mention in the Relation of the Voyage of Ferdinand Soto, in Florida; these are the Tula, Casquin, Cicaca and Daminoia. They added that prisoners whom they had taken in war in the direction of the sea said that they had seen ships far out which made discharges that resembled thunder, but that they were not settled on the coast, because if they were there

they [the Indians] would not neglect to go and trade with them, the sea being distant only twenty days in their canoes.

The day passed in this way to our mutual satisfaction, but things did not remain long in this state.

The next day one of the chiefs of the Miamis, named Monso, arrived accompanied by five or six others loaded with kettles, axes and knives, in order by these presents to prepare the mind of the Islinois to believe what he was to say to them. He secretly assembled the sachems and assured them that we intended to go and join their enemies, who live beyond the great river Colbert, that we would furnish them arms and ammunition and that after having assembled them we would join the Iroquois, and hem them in on all sides to exterminate them entirely; that we were friends of the Iroquois, that the French had a fort in the midst of the Iroquois country, that we would furnish them arms and powder, and that there was no other means of avoiding their ruin than by preventing our voyage, or at least delaying it, because a part of our men would soon abandon us, and that they should not believe anything we might tell them.

After having said many things of the kind, the Miami chief returned by night with as much secrecy as he came, lest we might discover all this mystery.

Nevertheless one of the Islinois chiefs named Omaouha, whom we had gained on arriving by a present of two axes and three knives, came to see us the next morning and secretly informed us of all that had passed. We thanked him, and to induce him to keep us informed of all that went on, we made him a new present of powder and lead, easily judging that this Miamis had been sent and instructed by other Frenchmen, jealous of our success, because this Monso did not know us, and had not even been within four hundred

leagues of Fort Frontenac, and that nevertheless, he had spoken of our affairs with as much detail and circumstantiality as though he had known us all his life.

This affair gave us all the more uneasiness, because we knew that Indians are naturally suspicious, and because many bad impressions had already been made on our men to induce them to desert, as six of their comrades had already done at one stroke.

In the afternoon of the same day, Nicanape, brother of Chassagouasse, the most important of the Islinois chiefs, who was then absent, invited us all to a feast, and when all were seated in the cabin, Nicanape took the word, and made us an address very different from those which the sachems had made us at his arrival, saying that he had not invited us, so much to give us good cheer as to cure our mind of the disease which we had, wishing to descend the great river, which no one had ever yet done without perishing there; that its banks were inhabited by an infinite number of barbarous nations, who would overwhelm the French by their numbers, whatever arms and whatever valor they might possess; that this river was full of monsters, tritons, crocodiles and serpents, and even if the size of our canoe should protect us from this danger, there was another and inevitable one, that the lower part of the river was full of falls and precipices with a current above them so evident that men go down helplessly, and that all these precipices ended in a gulf where the river was lost under ground, without any one's knowing whither it went. He added to this so many circumstances and pronounced his address so seriously with so many marks of good will, that our men who were not at all accustomed to the manners of the Indians, and two of whom understood the language, were shaken by it.

We marked their apprehension in their faces, but as it is not the custom to interrupt Indians, and by doing so we

would only have increased the suspicion of our men, we let him finish his speech in peace, and then we replied without any emotion, that we were very much obliged to him for the information he gave us, and that we should acquire all the more glory if we found difficulties to overcome; that we all served the great Master of the life of men, and him who was the greatest of all the chiefs who commanded beyond the sea; that we esteemed ourselves happy to die while bearing the name of both to the very end of the earth; but that we feared that all he had told us was only an invention of his friendship to prevent our leaving his nation, or rather that it was only an artifice of some evil spirit who had given them some distrust of our plans, although they were full of sincerity; that if the Islinois had any real friendship for us they should not dissemble the grounds of their uneasiness, from which we should endeavor to deliver them, that otherwise we should have reason to believe that the friendship they manifested for us on our arrival was only on their lips.

Nicanape remained unable to reply, and presenting us food changed his discourse.

After the meal our interpreter took up the word again and told him that we were not surprised that their neighbors became jealous of the advantages that they would receive from the trade which they were going to have with the French, nor that they should spread reports to our damage, but that he was astonished to see them so easy to give them credence, and that they concealed them from the French, who had so frankly revealed to them all their designs.

"We were not asleep, brother," he added, addressing Nicanape, "when Monso spoke to you in secret at night to the prejudice of the French, whom he depicted to you as spies of the Iroquois. The presents that he made you to convince you of his lies are still secreted in this cabin.

Why did he take flight immediately afterwards? Why did he not show himself by day if he had only truth to tell? Have you not seen that at our arrival we might have killed your nephews, and that in the confusion prevailing among them, we might have done alone what they wish to persuade you we will execute with the help of the Iroquois, after we are settled among you, and have formed a friendship with your nation?

"At this moment that I am addressing you, could not our French kill all of you, old men that you are, while your young men are off at the hunt? Do you not know that the Iroquois, whom you fear, have experienced the valor of the French and that consequently we should not need their help if we intended to make war on you?

"But to cure your mind entirely, run after this imposter, whom we will wait here to convict and confound. How does he know us since he has never seen us, and how can he know the plots which he says we have formed with the Iroquois, whom he knows as little as he does us? Look at our stores; they are only tools and goods that can but serve us to do you good, and which are not suited either for attacking or for retreating."

These words influenced them and induced them to dispatch runners after Monso to bring him back, but the heavy snow that fell by night before and which covered his tracks, prevented their overtaking him. Nevertheless, our Frenchmen, who had been alarmed already, were not relieved of their false fears. Six of them who were on guard, and among them two pit-sawyers, without whom we could not make a bark to go to sea, fled the next night, after having carried off whatever they thought likely to be necessary to them, and exposed themselves to a danger of perishing and dying of hunger much more certain than that which they sought to avoid.

The Sieur de la Salle having gone out of his cabin in the

morning and finding no one on duty, he entered the cabins of his men, and found one where there was only a single man left, whom his comrades had not notified, because he was suspected by them. He called them all together and asked for information in regard to these deserters. Then he expressed his displeasure that they should have deserted against the King's orders, and all justice, and abandon him at the time when they were most necessary to him, after he had done everything for them. To counteract the bad impression that this desertion might produce in the mind of the Islinois he ordered them to say that their comrades had gone off by his order, and said that he was well able to pursue and punish them as an example, but that he did not wish to let the Indians know how little fidelity there was among the French.

He exhorted them to be more faithful to him than these runaways, and not to go to such extremes through fear of the dangers which Nicanape had falsely exaggerated to them; that he did not intend to take with him any but those who would wish to accompany him willingly, and that he would give them his word to leave the others at liberty in the spring to return to Canada, whither they might go without risk and by canoe, whereas they could not then undertake it, but with evident peril of their lives, and with the disgrace of having basely abandoned him, by a conspiracy which could not remain unpunished on their arrival in Canada.

He endeavored to reassure them in this way, but knowing their inconstancy, and dissembling the chagrin he felt at their lack of resolution, he resolved to remove them from the Indians, to preclude any new subornations, and in order to make them consent without murmuring, he told them that they were not in security among the Islinois; that moreover such a stay exposed them to the arms of the Iro-

quois, who perhaps might come before winter to attack the village, that the Islinois were not capable of making any resistance to them, that apparently they would take flight at the first shock, and that the Iroquois would not be able to overtake them, because the Islinois run much faster than they do; they would vent their rage on the French, whose small number would be incapable of making head against these savages; that there was only one remedy, and that was to fortify themselves in some post easy of defense; that he had found one of this kind near the village, where they would be proof against the insults of the Islinois and the arms of the Iroquois, who would not be able to storm them there, and who for this reason would not undertake to attack them.

These reasons and some others of that kind which I made them, persuaded them, and brought all to work with a good grace in building a fort which was called Crevecoeur, situated four days' journey from the great village of the Islinois, descending towards the river Colbert.

A great thaw having set in on the 15th of January and rendered the river free below the village, the Sieur de la Salle begged me to accompany him, and we proceeded with one of our canoes to the place which we were going to select to work at this little fort. [Hennepin and Membre's maps show it to be on the easterly side of the river.—H. W. B.] It was a little mound about two hundred paces distant from the bank of the river which in the season of the rains, extends to the foot of it; two broad, deep ravines protected two other sides and a part of the fourth, which we completely entrenched by a ditch which united the two ravines. Their exterior slope, which served as a counterscarp, was fortified, we made chevaux de frise and cut this eminence down steep on all sides, and the earth was supported as much as was necessary with strong pieces of timber, with thick planks,

and for fear of any surprise we planted a stockade around, the timbers of which were twenty-five feet long and a foot thick.

The summit of the mound was left in its natural figure, which formed an irregular square, and we contented ourselves with putting on the edge a good parapet of earth capable of covering all our force, whose barracks were placed in two of the angles of this fort, in order that they might be always ready in case of attack.

Fathers Gabriel, Zenoble and I lodged in a cabin covered with boards, which we adjusted with the help of our workmen and in which we retired after work, our people for evening and morning prayer, and where, being unable any longer to say mass, the wine which we had made from the large grapes of the country having just failed us, we contented ourselves with singing Vespers on holidays and Sundays and preaching after morning prayers.

The forge was set up along the curtain which faced the wood. The Sieur de la Salle posted himself in the middle with the Sieur de Tonty; and wood was cut down to make charcoal for the blacksmith.

While they were engaged at this work, we were thinking constantly only of our exploration, and we saw that the building of a bark would be very difficult on account of the desertion of the pit-sawyers. It occurred to us one day, to tell our people that if there was a man of good will among them, who was willing to try and make sheathing planks there was hope of succeeding, with a little more labor and time, and that at the worst we should after all only spoil a few.

Immediately two of our men offered to work at it. The trial was made and they succeeded pretty well, although they had never before undertaken a similar piece of work. We began a bark of forty-two feet keel, and only twelve

broad. We pushed on the work with so much care, that notwithstanding the building of Fort Crevecoeur, the sheathing was sawed, all the wood of the bark ready and curved, in the first of the month of March.

It is to be remarked that in the country of the Islinois, the winter is not more severe than in Provence, but that of the years 1679 [and 1680], the snow lasted more than twenty days, which was an extraordinary surprise to the Indians, who had not yet experienced so severe a winter, so that the Sieur de la Salle and I saw ourselves exposed to new hardships, which will perhaps appear incredible to those who have no experience in great voyages and new discoveries.

Fort Crevecoeur was almost completed, all the wood had been prepared to complete the bark, but we had neither rigging nor sails, nor iron enough; we heard no tidings of the bark which we had left on Lake Dauphin nor of the men who had been sent to learn what had become of her. Meanwhile the Sieur de la Salle saw that summer was approaching, and that if he waited uselessly some months more, our enterprise would be retarded a year, and perhaps two or three, because being so far from Canada, he could not put his affairs in any order or cause the things he needed to be forwarded.

In this extremity we both adopted a resolution, as extraordinary as it was difficult to carry out, I to go with two men into unknown countries, where one is at every moment in a great danger for his life, and he to proceed on foot to Fort Frontenac, itself a distance of more than five hundred leagues.

We were then at the close of winter which had been, as we have said, as severe in America as in France, the ground was still covered with snow which was neither melted nor able to bear a man in snow shoes. It was neces-

sary to load ourselves with the usual equipage on these occasions, that is to say, a blanket, a kettle, an axe, a gun, powder, and lead, dressed skins to make Indian shoes, which often last only a day, those which are worn in France being of no use in these western countries. Besides this he must resolve to push through bushes, to walk in marshes, and melting snow, sometimes waist high, and that for whole days, sometimes even with nothing to eat; because he, and three others who accompanied him, could not carry provisions, being compelled to depend for all their subsistence on what they might shoot, and expect to drink only the water they might find on the way.

To conclude, he was exposed every day and especially night to be surprised by four or five nations which made war on each other, with this difference, that these nations where he was to pass, all know the French, and that those where I was going had never seen Europeans. Nevertheless all these difficulties did not astonish him any more than they did me. Our only trouble was to find among our force some men robust enough to go with us, and to prevent the others, already greatly fluctuating, from all deserting after our departure.

Some days after we fortunately found means to disabuse our people of the false impressions which the Islinois had produced on them at the instigation of Monso, chief of the Miamis. Some Indians arrived at the village of the Islinois from these remote nations, and one of them assured us of the beauty of the great River Colbert or Meschasipi.

We were confirmed in it by the report of several Indians, and by a private Islinois, who told us in secret on our arrival that it was navigable. Nevertheless this account did not suffice to disabuse our people and completely reassure them. We wished to make the Islinois themselves

avow it, although we had learned that they had resolved in council always to tell us the same thing. Soon after a favorable occasion presented itself.

A young Islinois warrior who had taken some prisoners in the direction of the south and who had come on ahead of his comrades, passed to our shipyard. They gave him some Indian corn to eat. As he was returning from the lower part of the River Colbert, of which we pretended to have some knowledge, this young man traced for us with coal, a pretty exact map, assuring us that he had been everywhere in his periagua; that there was not down to the sea, which the Indians call the great lake, either falls or rapids.

But that as this river became very broad, there were in some places sand banks and mud which barred a part of it. He also told us the name of the nations that lived on its bank, and of the rivers which it receives. I wrote them down and I will be able to give an account thereof in a second volume of our Discovery.

We thanked him by a small present, for having revealed to us the truth, which the chief men of his Islinois nation had disguised from us. He begged us not to tell them, and an axe was given him to close his mouth, after the fashion of the Indians when they wish to enjoin secrecy.

The next morning after our public prayers, we went to the village where we found the Islinois assembled in the cabin of one of the most important who was giving a bear feast, which is a meat that they esteem highly.

They made place for us among them on a fine mat of flags, which they spread for us. We told them through one of their men, who knew the language, that we wished to make known to them, that He who has made all, whom we call the Great Master of Life, takes a particular care of the French, that He had done us the favor to instruct us

as to the condition of the great river, called by us Colbert, as to which we had difficulty in ascertaining the truth, since they had rendered it impossible for us to navigate, and then we informed them what we had learned the day before.

These savages thought that we had learned all these things by some extraordinary way; and after having closed the mouth with their hand, which is a way that they often employ to express their surprise, they told us that it was only the desire which they had to retain our chief with the Greygowns or Bare Feet [as all the Indians of America call our Religious of Saint Francis] to remain with them, had obliged them to conceal the truth. They confirmed all that we had learned from the young warrior, and have since always persisted in the same opinion.

This affair greatly diminished the fears of our Frenchmen, and they were entirely delivered from them by the arrival of several Osages, Ciccaca and Akansa, who had come from the southward in order to see the French and to buy axes.

They all bore witness that the river was navigable to the sea, and that as the coming of the French was made known, all the nations of the lower part of the River Colbert would come to dance the Calumet of Peace to us, in order to maintain a good understanding, and trade with the French nation.

The Miamis came at the same time to dance the calumet to the Islinois, and made an alliance with them against the Iroquois, their common enemy. The Sieur de la Salle made some presents to unite these two nations more firmly together.

Seeing that we were three Recollect missionaries with the few Frenchmen whom we had at Fort Crevecoeur, and having no more wine to say mass, Father Gabriel, who

had need of relief at his advanced age, declared that he would willingly remain alone at the fort with our Frenchmen.

Father Zenoble who had desired to have the great mission of the Islinois, composed of about seven or eight thousand souls, began to weary of it, finding it difficult to adapt himself to the importunate manners of the Indians, with whom he dwelt. We spoke about it to the Sieur de la Salle, who made a present of three axes to the father's host, by name Oumahouha [Omaha], that is to say, the Wolf, who was the chief of a family or tribe, in order that he might take care to maintain the Father, whom this chief called his son, and who lodged him and considered him as one of his children.

This Father who was only half a league from the fort, came to explain to us the subject of his troubles, telling us, that he was not yet accustomed to the ideas of the Indians, that nevertheless he already knew a part of their language. I offered to take his mission, provided he would go in my place to the remote nations of whom we had as yet no knowledge, as that which the Indians had given us was only superficial. This set the father thinking, and he preferred to remain with the Islinois, of whom he had some knowledge, rather than expose himself to go among unknown nations.

The Sieur de la Salle left in Fort Crevecoeur the Sieur de Tonty as commandant, with some soldiers and the carpenters who were employed building the bark intended for the attempt to descend to the sea by the River Colbert, in order to be, by this means, protected from the arrows of the Indians in this vessel. He left him powder and lead, a blacksmith, guns and other arms to defend themselves, in case they were attacked by the Iroquois.

He gave him instructions to remain in his fort, and before returning to Fort Frontenac, to go and get a re-

inforcement, cables and rigging for the last bark, which he left built up to the ribband. He begged me to consent to take the pains to go and explore in advance the route which he would have to take to the River Colbert [and to the Sioux on the Upper Mississippi.—H. W. B.], on his return from Canada, but as I had an abscess in the mouth, which suppurated continually, and which had continued for a year and a half, I manifested to him my repugnance, and told him that I needed to return to Canada to have it treated. He replied that if I refused this voyage, that he would write to my superiors, that I would be the cause of the want of success of our new missions.

The Reverend Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, who had been my Father Master in the Novitiate, begged me to proceed, saying that if I died of this infirmity, God would be one day glorified by my apostolic labors. "It is true, my son," said this venerable old man to me, who had whitened more than forty years in the austerity of penance, "that you will have many monsters to overcome, and precipices to pass in this enterprise, which demands the strength of the most robust. You do not know a word of the language of these nations, whom you are going to try and gain to God, but courage, you will gain as many victories as combats."

Considering that this Father had at his age volunteered to come and aid me in my second year of our new discovery, in the view that he had to announce Jesus Christ to the unknown nations, and that this aged man was the only male child and heir of his father's house, who was a gentleman of Burgundy, I offered to undertake this voyage to endeavor to go and form an acquaintance with the nations among whom I hoped soon to settle in order to preach the faith. The Sieur de la Salle told me that I gratified him.

He gave me a peace calumet and a canoe with two men, one of whom was called the Picard du Gay, who is now in

Paris, and the other Michael Ako. He entrusted this latter with some goods intended to make presents, which were worth a thousand or twelve hundred livres, and he gave me ten knives, twelve awls, a small roll of tobacco, to give the Indians, about two pounds of black and white beads, and a small package of needles, assuring me that he would have given me more if he had been able. In fact he is very liberal to his friends.

Having received the blessing of the Reverend Father Gabriel and leave from the Sieur de la Salle, and after having embraced all our men who came to escort us to our place of embarking, Father Gabriel finishing his adieus by these words: "Viriliter age et confortetur cor tuum." We set out from Fort Crevecoeur the 29th of February, 1680, and toward evening, while descending the river Seignelay, we met on our way several parties of Islinois returning to their village in their periaguas [pirogues or wooden canoes] or gondolas, loaded with meat.

They would have obliged us to return, our two boatmen were strongly influenced, but as they would have had to pass by Fort Crevecoeur, where our Frenchmen would have stopped them, we pursued our way the next day, and my two men afterward confessed the design which they had entertained.

The river Seignelay [Illinois] on which we were sailing, is as deep and broad as the Seine at Paris, and in two or three places widens out to a quarter of a league. It is skirted by hills, whose sides are covered with fine large trees. Some of these hills are half a league apart, leaving between them a marshy strip, often inundated, especially in the autumn and spring, but producing, nevertheless, very large trees.

On ascending these hills, you discover prairies further than the eye can reach, studded, at intervals, with groves

of tall trees, apparently planted there intentionally. The current of the river is not perceptible, except in time of great rains; it is at all times navigable for large barks about a hundred leagues, from its mouth to the Islinois village, whence its course almost always runs south by west.

On the 7th of March we found, about two leagues from its mouth, a nation called Tamaroa, or Maroa, composed of two hundred families. They would have taken us to their village lying west of the river Colbert [Mississippi], six or seven leagues below the mouth of the river Seignelay, but our two canoemen, in hopes of still greater gain, preferred to pass on [as they were required by La Salle to do.—H. W. B.], according to the advice I then gave them.

These last Indians seeing that we carried iron and arms to their enemies, and unable to overtake us in their periaguas, which are wooden canoes, much heavier than our [birch] bark one, which went much faster than their boats, despatched some of their young men after us by land, to pierce us with their arrows at some narrow part of the river, but in vain; for soon after discovering the fire made by these warriors at their ambuscade, we promptly crossed the river, gained the other side and encamped in an island, leaving our canoe loaded and our little dog to wake us, so as to embark more expeditiously should the Indians attempt to surprise us by swimming across.

Soon after leaving these Indians, we came to the mouth of the river Seignelay, fifty leagues distant from Fort Crevecoeur, and about a hundred leagues from the great Islinois village. It lies between 36 degrees and 37 degrees north latitude, and consequently one hundred and twenty or thirty leagues from the Gulf of Mexico.

In the angle formed on the south by this river [at Grafton], at its mouth, is a flat precipitous rock, about forty feet high, very well suited for building a fort. On the

northern side, opposite the rock, and on the west side beyond the river, are fields of black earth, the end of which you can not see, all ready for cultivation, which would be very advantageous for the existence of a colony.

The ice which floated down from the north kept us in this place till the 12th of March, whence we continued our route, traversing the river and sounding on all sides to see whether it was navigable. There are, indeed, three islets in the middle, near the mouth of the river Seignelay, which stop the floating wood and trees from the north, and form several large sand bars, yet the channels are deep enough, and there is sufficient water for barks,—large flat-boats can pass there at all times.

The river Colbert runs south-southwest, and comes from the north and northwest; it runs between two chains of mountains, very small here, which wind with the river, and in some places are pretty far from the banks, so that between the mountains and the river, there are large prairies, where you often see herds of wild cattle browsing. In other places these eminences leave semi-circular spots covered with grass or wood. Beyond these mountains you discover vast plains, but the more we approach the northern side ascending, the earth did not appear to us so fertile, nor the woods so beautiful as in the Islinois country.

This great river is almost everywhere a short league in width, and in some places, two leagues; it is divided by a number of islands covered with trees, interlaced with so many vines as to be almost impassable. It receives no considerable river on the western side except that of the Otontenta, and another, which comes from the west north-west, seven or eight leagues from the Falls of St. Anthony of Padua.

On the eastern side you meet first an inconsiderable river, and then further on another, called by the Indians Oniscon-

sin, or Misconsin [Wisconsin], which comes from the east and east north-east. Sixty leagues up you leave it, and make a portage of half a league to reach the Bay of the Puans by another river which, near its source, meanders most curiously. It is almost as broad as the river Seignelay, or Islinois, and empties into the river Colbert, a hundred leagues above the river Seignelay.

Twenty-four leagues above, you come to the Black river called by the Nadouessious, or Islati, and the Chabadeba, or Chabaoudeba, it seems inconsiderable. Thirty leagues higher up you find the Lake of Tears, Lake Pepin, which we so named because the Indians who had taken us, wishing to kill us, some of them wept the whole night to induce others to consent to our death. This lake, which is formed by the river Colbert, is seven leagues long, and about four wide; there is no considerable current in the middle that we could perceive, but only at its entrance and exit. Half a league below the Lake of Tears, on the south side, is Buffalo river, full of turtles. It is so called by the Indians on account of the number of Buffalo found there. We followed it for ten or twelve leagues; it empties with rapidity into the river Colbert, but as you ascend it, it is always gentle and free from rapids. It is skirted by mountains far enough in some places to form prairies. The mouth is wooded on both sides and is full as wide as that of the Seignelay.

Forty leagues above is a river [the St. Croix], full of rapids, by which, striking northwest, you can proceed to Lake Conde [Superior], as far as Nimissakouat river, which empties into that lake. This first river is called Tomb river because the Isati left there the body of one of their warriors killed by a rattlesnake, on whom, according to their custom, I put a blanket. This act of humanity gained me much importance by the gratitude displayed by the men of the deceased's tribe, in a great banquet which they gave

me in their country, and to which more than a hundred Indians were invited.

Continuing to ascend this river ten or twelve leagues more, the navigation is interrupted by a cataract which I called the Falls of St. Anthony of Padua, in gratitude for the favors done me by the Almighty through the intercession of that great saint, whom we had chosen patron and protector of all our enterprises.

This cataract is forty or fifty feet high, divided in the middle of its fall by a rocky island of pyramidal form. The high mountains which skirt the river Colbert last only as far as the river Onisconsin, about one hundred and twenty leagues. At this place it begins to flow from the west and northwest without our having been able to learn from the Indians, who have ascended it very far, the spot where this river rises.

They merely told us that twenty or thirty leagues below, there is a second fall, at the foot of which are some villages of the prairie people, called Thinthonha, who live there a part of the year.

Eight leagues above St. Anthony of Padua falls, on the right you find the river of the Issati or Nadoussion with a very narrow mouth, which you can ascend to the north for about seventy leagues to Lake Buade [Mille lake], or of the Issati where it rises. We gave this river [Rum river] the name of St. Francis. This last lake spreads out into great marshes, producing wild rice, like many other places, down to the extremity of the Bay of the Puans. This kind of grain grows in marshy places without anyone sowing it; it resembles oats, but tastes better, and the stalks are longer as well as the ear. The Indians gather it in due season. The women tie several ears together with white wood bark to prevent its being all devoured by the flocks of duck and

teal found there. The Indians lay in stock for part of the year, and to eat out of the hunting season.

Lake Buade, or Lake of the Issati, is situated about seventy leagues west of Lake Conde; it is impossible to go from one to the other by land on account of the marshy and quaggy nature of the ground; you might go, though with difficulty on the snow in snowshoes; by water there are many portages, and it is a hundred and fifty leagues, on account of the many turns to be made.

From Lake Conde, to go conveniently in canoe, you must pass by Tomb river, where we found only the skeleton of the Indian whom I mentioned above, the bears having eaten the flesh, and pulled up poles which the deceased's relatives had planted in form of a monument. One of our boatmen found a war calumet beside the grave, and an earthen pot upset, in which the Indians had left fat buffalo meat, to assist the departed, as they say, in making his journey to the land of souls.

In the neighborhood of Lake Buade are many other lakes, whence issue several rivers, on the banks of which live the Issati, Nadouessans, Tinthonha [which means prairie-men], Ouadebathon, River People, Chongaskethon, Dog, or Wolf tribe [for chonga among these nations means dog or wolf], and other tribes, all of which we comprise under the name of Nadonession. These Indians number eight or nine thousand warriors, very brave, great runners, and very good bowmen. It was by a part of these tribes that I and our two canoemen were taken in the following way:

We scrupulously said our morning and evening prayers every day on embarking, and the Angelus at noon, adding some paraphrases on the Response of St. Bonaventure, Cardinal, in honor of St. Anthony of Padua. In this way we begged of God to meet these Indians by day, for when they discover people at night they kill them as enemies, to rob

those whom they murder secretly of some axes or knives which they value more than we do gold and silver; they even kill their own allies, when they can conceal their death, so as afterward to boast of having killed men, and thus pass for soldiers.

We had considered the river Colbert with great pleasure, and without hindrance, to know whether it was navigable up and down; we were loaded with seven or eight large turkeys, which multiply of themselves in these parts. We wanted neither buffalo nor deer, nor beaver, nor fish, nor bear meat, for we killed those animals as they swam across the river.

Our prayers were heard, when, on the 11th of April, 1680, at two o'clock in the afternoon, we suddenly perceived thirty-three bark canoes, manned by a hundred and twenty Indians, coming down with extraordinary speed to make war on the Miamis, Islinois and Maroha. These Indians surrounded us, and while at a distance, discharged some arrows at us, but as they approached our canoe, the old men seeing us with the calumet of peace in our hands, prevented the young men from killing us.

These brutal men, leaping from their canoes, some on land, others into the water with frightful cries and yells, approached us, and as we made no resistance, being only three against so great a number, one of them wrenched our calumet from our hands, while our canoe and theirs were made fast to the shore. We first presented them a piece of Petun or French tobacco, better for smoking than theirs, and the eldest among them uttered these words, "Miamiha, Miamiha."

As we did not understand their language, we took a little stick and by signs which we made on the sand, showed them that their enemies, the Miamis, whom they sought, had fled across the river Colbert to join the Islinois; when they

saw themselves discovered and unable to surprise their enemies, three or four old men, laying their hands on my head, wept in a lugubrious tone, and I, with a wretched handkerchief I had left, wiped away their tears.

These savages would not smoke our peace-calumet. They made us cross the river with great cries, which all shouted together with tears in their eyes; they made us paddle before them, and we heard yells capable of striking the most resolute with terror. After landing our canoe and our goods, some part of which they had already stolen, we made a fire to boil our kettle; we gave them two large wild turkeys that we killed.

These savages having called their assembly to deliberate on what they were to do with us, the two head chiefs of the party approaching, showed us, by signs, that the warriors wished to tomahawk us.

This compelled me to go to the war chiefs with one of my men, leaving the other by our property, and throw into their midst six axes, fifteen knives, and six fathom of our black tobacco, then bowing down my head, I showed them, with an axe that they might tomahawk us, if they thought proper.

This present appeased several individuals among them, who gave us some beaver to eat, putting the three first morsels in our mouth according to the custom of the country, and blowing on the meat, which was too hot, before putting their bark dish before us, to let us eat as we liked. We spent the night in anxiety because, before retiring at night, they had returned us our peace-calumet.

Our two canoemen were, however, resolved to sell their lives dearly, and to resist if attacked; they kept their arms and swords ready. As for my part, I determined to allow myself to be killed without any resistance, as I was going to announce to them a God who had been falsely accused, un-

justly condemned, and cruelly crucified, without showing the least aversion to those who put Him to death. In our uncertainty we watched one after the other, so as not to be surprised asleep.

In the morning, April 12th, one of their captains named Narrhetoba, with his face and bare body smeared with paint, asked me for our peace-calumet, filled it with tobacco of his country, made all his band smoke first, and then all the others who plotted our ruin. He then gave us to understand that we must go with them to their country, and they all turned back with us; having thus broken off their voyage.

I was not sorry in this conjuncture to continue our discoveries with these people. But the greatest trouble I had was, that I found it difficult to say my office before these savages, many of whom seeing me move my lips said, in a fierce tone, Ouackanche; and as we did not know a word of their language, we believed that they were angry at it.

Michael Ako, all out of countenance, told me, that if I continued to say my breviary we should all three be killed and the Picard [a nickname for Anthony Auguel] begged me at least to conceal myself for my devotions, so as not to provoke them further. I followed the latter's advice, but the more I concealed myself, the more I had the Indians at my heels, for when I entered the wood, they thought I was going to hide some goods under ground, so I knew not on what side to turn to pray, for they never let me out of sight.

This obliged me to beg pardon of my two canoemen, assuring them that I ought not dispense with saying my office, that if we were massacred for that, I should be the innocent cause of their death, as well as of my own. By the word Ouakanche, these savages meant that the book I was reading was a spirit; but by their gesture they never-

theless showed a kind of aversion, so that to accustom them to it, I chanted the Litany of the Blessed Virgin in the canoe with my book open. They thought that the breviary was a spirit which taught me to sing for their diversion, for these people are naturally fond of singing.

The outrages done us by these Indians during our whole route were incredible, for seeing that our canoe was much larger and more heavily laden than theirs [for they have only a quiver full of arrows, a bow and a wretched dressed skin, to serve two as a blanket during the night, which was still pretty cold at that season, always going north], and that we could not go faster than they, they put some warriors with us to help us row to oblige us to follow them.

These Indians sometimes make thirty or forty leagues by water, when at war and pressed for time, or anxious to surprise some enemy. Those who had taken us were of different villages and of different opinions as to us; we cabined every night by the young chief who had asked for our peace calumet, and put ourselves under his protection; but jealousy arose among these Indians, so that the chief of the party named Aquipaguetin, one of whose sons had been killed by the Miamis, seeing that he could not avenge his death on that nation which he sought, turned all his rage on us.

He wept through almost every night for him he had lost in war, to oblige those who had come out to avenge him, to kill us and seize all we had, so as to be able to pursue his enemies; but those who liked European goods were much disposed to preserve us, so as to attract other Frenchmen there and get iron, which is extremely precious in their eyes; but of which they knew the great utility only when they saw one of our French canoemen kill three or four wild geese or turkeys at a single gun shot, while they can scarcely kill even one with an arrow.

In consequence, as we afterward learned, that the words Manza Ouackange, mean "iron that has understanding," and so these nations called a gun which breaks a man's bones, while their arrows only glance through the flesh they pierce, rarely breaking the bones of those whom they strike, and consequently producing wounds more easily cured than those made by our European guns, which often cripple those whom they wound.

EXPLANATORY NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

Hennepin's captors, in the fall of 1680, took him and his comrades down the Mississippi towards the Wisconsin, on a buffalo hunt. Here they were rescued by Daniel Greysolon Du Lhut, or Duluth, a veteran trader of the Lake Superior region. Coming by way of the River St. Croix he heard of these captives, and continued down the Mississippi and obtained their release. Hennepin, with Du Gay or Antoine Auguel, took the route of Joliet and Marquette by way of the Wisconsin, and down Green Bay to Mackinac, where they remained until spring. The next year they continued on to France, where Hennepin published his "La Louisiane" in 1683, from whence the foregoing pages were taken. He never returned to America.

Michel Accau remained, and in 1695, was married at the Peoria Mission to an Indian girl. H. W. B.

LA SALLE'S VOYAGE DOWN THE MISSISSIPPI—"THE PROCES VERBAL"—TAKING POSSESSION OF ALL THE COUNTRY DRAINED BY THAT RIVER FOR THE KING OF FRANCE—LA SALLE'S WILL, ETC.

"PROCES VERBAL."

1682—"OF THE TAKING POSSESSION OF LOUISIANA, AT THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI, BY THE SIEUR DE LA SALLE, ON THE 9TH OF APRIL, 1682.

JAQUES DE LA METAIRIE, Notary of Fort Frontenac in New France, commissioned to exercise the said function of notary during the voyage to Louisiana, in North America by M. de la Salle, Governor of Fort Frontenac for the King, and commandant of the said discovery by the commission of his Majesty given at St. Germain, on the 12th day of May, 1678.

"To all those to whom these presents shall come, greeting: Know, that having been requested by the said Sieur de la Salle to deliver to him an act, signed by us and by the witnesses therein named, of possession by him taken of the country of Louisiana, near the three mouths of the River Colbert, in the Gulf of Mexico, on the 9th of April, 1682.

"In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious* Prince, Louis the Great, by the Grace of God,

* This curious and important historical document has never been printed. The translation here given is made from the original, contained in the archives of the Marine Department at Paris. The proper names remain precisely as they are found in the manuscript, although the orthography of several of them is different from that which was afterwards adopted.—Note by Mr. Sparks on its publication at Boston in 1841. Falconer. It appears corrected to correspond with the original manuscript in Falconer's Discovery of the Mississippi, and also in French's Hist. Col. of Louisiana, Part 1.—H. W. B.


Jean Baptiste Talon
Intendant
of

King of France and of Navarre, Fourteenth of that name, and of his heirs, and the successor of his crown, we, the aforesaid notary, have delivered the said act to the said Sieur de la Salle, the tenor whereof follows:

"On the 27th of December, 1681, M. de la Salle departed on foot to join M. de Tonty, who had preceded him with his followers and all his equipage 40 leagues into the Miamis country, where the ice on the River Chekagon* in the country of the Mascoutens, had arrested his progress, and where, when the ice became stronger, they used sledges to drag the baggage, the canoes, and a wounded Frenchman, through the whole length of this river, and on the Illinois, a distance of 70 leagues.

"At length, all the French being together, on the 25th of January, 1682, we came to Pimiteoui [Upper Peoria Lake]. From that place, the river being frozen only in some parts, we continued our route to the River Colbert, 60 leagues, or thereabouts, from Pimiteoui, and 90 leagues, or thereabouts, from the village of Illinois. We reached the banks of the River Colbert on the 6th of February, and remained there until the 13th, waiting for the savages, whose progress had been impeded by the ice. On the 13th, all having assembled, we renewed our voyage, being 22 French, carrying arms, accompanied by the Reverend Father Zenobe Membre, one of the Recollet Missionaries, and followed by 18 New England savages, and several women, Ilgonquines, Otchipoises, and Huronnes.

"On the 14th, we arrived at the village of Maroa, consisting of a hundred cabins, without inhabitants. Proceeding about a hundred leagues down the River Colbert, we went ashore to hunt on the 26th of February. A

* Later and now called the Desplanes. In earlier reference the present so named Chicago river was regarded as an inlet of the lake. And as late as 1812 the Desplanes from the Chicago portage to the Illinois was known as the river Chicago. See Edwards' History of Illinois, P. 98.—H. W. B.

Frenchman was lost in the woods, and it was reported to M. de la Salle, that a large number of savages had been seen in the vicinity. Thinking that they might have seized the Frenchman, and in order to observe these savages, he marched through the woods during two days, but without finding them, because they had all been frightened by the guns which they had heard, and had fled.

"Returning to camp, he sent in every direction French and savages on the search, with orders, if they fell in with savages, to take them alive without injury, that he might gain from them intelligence of this Frenchman. Gabriel Barbie, with two savages, having met five of the Chikacha nation, captured two of them. They were received with all possible kindness, and, after he had explained to them that he was anxious about a Frenchmen who had been lost, and that he only detained them that he might rescue him from their hands, if he was really among them, and afterwards make with them an advantageous peace [the French doing good to everybody], they assured him that they had not seen the man whom we sought, but that peace would be received with the greatest satisfaction. Presents were then given to them, and, as they had signified that one of their villages was not more than half a day's journey distant, M. de la Salle set out the next day to go thither; but, after travelling till night, and having remarked that they often contradicted themselves in their discourse, he declined going further, without more provisions. Having pressed them to tell the truth, they confessed that it was yet four days' journey to their villages; and, perceiving that M. de la Salle was angry at having been deceived, they proposed that one of them should remain with him, while the other carried the news to the village, whence the elders would come and join them four days' journey below that place. The said Sieur de la Salle returned to the camp with one of these Chikachas; and the French-

man, whom we sought, having been found, he continued his voyage, and passed the river of the Chepontias, and the village of the Metsigmeas. The fog, which was very thick, prevented his finding the passage which led to the rendezvous proposed by the Chikachas.

On the 12th of March, we arrived at the Kapaha village of Akansa. Having established a peace there, and taken possession, we passed, on the 15th, another of their villages, situate on the border of the river, and also two others, farther off in the depth of the forest, and arrived at that of Imaha, the largest village in this nation, where peace was confirmed, and where the chief acknowledged that the village belonged to his Majesty. Two Akansas embarked with M. de la Salle to conduct him to the Talusas, their allies, about 50 leagues distant, who inhabit eight villages upon the borders of a little lake. On the 19th, we passed the village of Tourika, Jason, and Kouera; but, as they did not border on the river, and were hostile to the Akansas and Taensas, we did not stop there.

"On the 20th, we arrived at the Taensas, by whom we were exceedingly well received, and supplied with a large quantity of provisions. M. de Tonty passed a night at one of their villages, where there were about 700 men carrying arms, assembled in the place. Here again a peace was concluded. A peace was also made with the Koroas, whose chief came there from the principal village of the Koroas, two leagues distant from that of the Natches. The two chiefs accompanied M. de la Salle to the banks of the river. Here the Koroa chief embarked with him, to conduct him to his village, where peace was again concluded with this nation, which, besides the five other villages of which it is composed, is allied to nearly 40 others. On the 31st, we passed the village of the Oumas without knowing it, on account of the fog, and its distance from the river.

"On the 3rd of April, at about 10 o'clock in the morning, we saw among the canes 13 or 14 canoes. M. de la Salle landed, with several of his people. Footprints were seen, and also savages, a little lower down, who were fishing, and who fled precipitately as soon as they discovered us. Others of our party then went ashore on the borders of a marsh formed by the inundation of the river. M. de la Salle sent two Frenchmen, and then two savages, to reconnoitre, who reported that there was a village not far off, but that the whole of this marsh, covered with canes, must be crossed to reach it; that they had been assailed with a shower of arrows by the inhabitants of the town, who had not dared to engage with them in the marsh, but who had then withdrawn, although neither the French nor the savages with them had fired, on account of the orders they had received not to act unless in pressing danger. Presently we heard a drum beat in the village, and the cries and howlings with which these barbarians are accustomed to make attacks. We waited three or four hours, and, as we could not encamp in this marsh, and seeing no one, and no longer hearing anything, we embarked.

"An hour afterwards, we came to the village of Maheouala, lately destroyed, and containing dead bodies and marks of blood. Two leagues below this place we encamped. We continued our voyage till the 6th, when we discovered three channels by which the River Colbert discharges itself into the sea. We landed on the bank of the most western channel, about three leagues from its mouth. On the 7th, M. de la Salle went to reconnoitre the shores of the neighboring sea, and M. de Tonty likewise examined the great middle channel. They found these two outlets beautiful, large and deep. On the 8th, we reascended the river, a little above its confluence with the sea, to find a dry place, beyond the reach of inundations. The elevation

of the North Pole was here about 27 degrees. Here we prepared a column and a cross, and to the said column were affixed the arms of France, with this inscription:

LOUIS LE GRAND, ROI DE FRANCE ET DE NAVARRE, REGNE; LE NEUVIEME, AVRIL, 1682.

"The whole party, under arms, chanted the Te Deum, the Exaudiat, the Domine salvum fac Regem; and then, after a salute of firearms and cries of Vive le Roi, the column was erected by M. de la Salle, who, standing near it, said, with a loud voice, in French: "In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious Prince, Louis the Great, by the Grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, Fourteenth of that name, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two, I, in virtue of the commission of his Majesty which I hold in my hand, and which may be seen by all whom it may concern, have taken, and do now take, in the name of his Majesty and of his successors to the crown, possession of this country of Louisiana, the seas, harbours, ports, bays, adjacent straits; and all the nations, people, provinces, cities, towns, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries, streams, and rivers, comprised in the extent of the said Louisiana, from the mouth of the great river St. Louis on the eastern side, otherwise called Ohio, Alighin, Sipore, or Chikachas, and this with the consent of the Chaouanons, Chikachas, and other people dwelling therein, with whom we have made alliance; as also along the River Colbert, or Mississipi, and rivers which discharge themselves therein, from its source beyond the country of the Kious or Nadouessious, and this with their consent, and with the consent of the Motantees, Ilinois, Mesigameas, Natches, Koroas, which are the most considerable nations dwelling therein, with whom also we have made alliance, either by ourselves or

by others in our behalf; as far as its mouth at the sea, or Gulf of Mexico, about the 27th degree of the elevation of the North Pole, and also to the mouth of River of Palms; upon the assurance which we have received from all these nations, that we are the first Europeans who have descended or ascended the said River Colbert; hereby protesting against all those who may in future undertake to invade any or all of these countries, people, or lands, above described, to the prejudice of the right of his Majesty, acquired by the consent of the nations herein named. Of which, and of all that can be needed, I hereby take to witness those who hear me, and demand an act of the Notary, as required by law.

"To which the whole assembly responded with shouts of Vive le Roi, and with salutes of firearms. Moreover, the said Sieur de la Salle caused to be buried at the foot of the tree, to which the cross was attached, a leaden plate, on one side of which were engraved the arms of France, and the following Latin inscription:*

LVDOVICVS MAGNVS REGAT. NONO APRILIS CIↃ IↃC LXXXII. ROBERTVS CAVELIER, CVM DOMINO DE TONTY, LEGATO, R. P. ZENOBIO MEMBRE, RECOLLECTO, ET VIGINTI GALLIS, PRIMVS HOC FLVMEN, INDE AB ILINEORVM PAGO, ENAVIGAVIT, EJVSQVE OSTIVM FECIT PERVIVM, NONO APRILIS ANNI CIↃ IↃC LXXXII.

"After which the Sieur de la Salle said, that his Majesty, as eldest son of the Church, would annex no country to his crown, without making it his chief care to establish the Christian religion therein, and that its symbol must

*Note.—The following is a translation of the Latin inscription on the leaden plate referred to: Louis the Great reigns. Robert Cavalier, with Lord Tonti as Lieutenant, R. P. Zenobe, Membre Recollect, and twenty Frenchmen, first navigated this stream from the country of the Illinois, and also passed through its mouth on the 9th day of April, 1682.—H. W. B.

now be planted; which was accordingly done at once by erecting a cross, before which the Vexilla and the Domine salvum fac Regem were sung. Whereupon the ceremony was concluded with cries of Vive le Roi.

"Of all and every of the above, the said Sieur de la Salle having required of us an instrument, we have delivered to him the same, signed by us, and by the undersigned witnesses, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two.

"LA METAIRIE,
Notary.

"DE LA SALLE.
"P. ZENOBE, Recollet Missionary.
"HENRY DE TONTY.
"FRANCOIS DE BOISRONDET.
"JEAN BOURDON,* }
"SIEUR D'AUTRY,* }
"JAQUES CAUCHOIS.
"PIERRE YOU.
"GILLES MEUCRET.
"JEAN MICHEL, Surgeon.
"JEAN MAS.
"JEAN DULIGNON.
"NICOLAS DE LA SALLE."

Note. The above is reprinted from Mr. Sparks's "Life of La Salle," published at Boston, Massachusetts, in 1844. The original document, in French, has not been published. —*Falconer.*

* The names Jean Bourdon and Sieur d'Autray appear above as two separate persons. In fact they are only one. Sieur de Autray was the title of nobility conferred on Jean Bourdon for being one of La Salle's party in this descent of the Mississippi.—H. W. B.

WILL OF THE SIEUR DE LA SALLE.

"Robert Cavelier, Esquire, Sieur de la Salle, Seigneur and Governor of the Fort Frontenac in New France, considering the great dangers and continual perils in which the voyages I undertake engage me, and wishing to acknowledge, as much as I am able, the great obligations which I owe to M. Francois Plet, my cousin, for the signal services which he has rendered to me in my most pressing necessities, and because it is through his assistance that I have preserved to this time Fort Frontenac against the efforts which were made to deprive me of it, I have given, granted, and transferred, and give, grant, and transfer, by these presents, to the said M. Plet, in case of my death, the seigniory and property of the ground and limits of the said Fort Frontenac and its depending lands, and all my rights in the country of the Miamis, Illinois, and others to the south, together with the establishment which is in the country of the Miamis, in the condition which it shall be at the time of my death, that of Niagara, and all the others which I may have founded there, together with all barges, boats, great boats, moveables, and immoveables, rights, privileges, rents, lands, buildings, and other things belonging to me which shall be found there; willing that these presents be, and serve for my testament and declaration in the manner in which I ought to make it, such being my last will as above written by my hand, and signed by my hand, after having read it, and again read it, [lu et relu].

"Made at Montreal, the 11th of August, 1681.

[Signed]

"CAVELIER DE LA SALLE."

"MEMOIR OF THE SIEUR DE LA SALLE REPORTING TO MONSIEGNEUR DE SEIGNELAY THE DISCOVERIES MADE BY HIM UNDER THE ORDER OF HIS MAJESTY.*

MONSEIGNEUR COLBERT was of opinion, with regard to the various propositions which were made in 1678, that it was important for the glory and service of the King to discover a port for his vessels in the Gulf of Mexico.

The Sieur de la Salle offered to undertake the discovery, at his own expense, if it should please his Majesty to grant to him the Seignory of the government of the forts which he should erect on his route, together with certain privileges as an indemnification for the great outlay which the expedition would impose on him. Such grant was made to him by letters patent of the 12th of May, 1678.

In order to execute this commission, he abandoned all his own pursuits which did not relate to it. He did not omit anything necessary for success, notwithstanding dangerous sickness, considerable losses, and other misfortunes which he suffered, which would have discouraged any other person not possessed of the same zeal with himself, and the same industry in the performance of the undertaking. He has made five voyages under extraordinary hardships, extending over more than 5,000 leagues. most commonly on foot, through snow and water, almost without rest, during five years. He has traversed more than 600 leagues of unknown country, among many barbarous and cannibal nations, [antropophages], [anthropagi, H. W. B.], against whom he was obliged to fight almost daily, although he was accompanied by only 36 men, having no other consolation before him than a hope of bringing to an end an enterprise which he believed would be agreeable to his Majesty.

* This document, though without date, as is apparent from references to it in other manuscripts, was submitted by La Salle while at Paris and prior to the 23d of March, 1684. Seignelay, son of Colbert, and followed him as minister of the marine and colonies.—H. W. B.

After having happily executed this design, he hopes Monseigneur will be pleased to continue him in the title [propriete] and government of the fort which he has had erected in the country of his discovery, where he has placed several French settlers—and has brought together many savage nations, amounting to more than 18,000 in number, who have built houses there and sown much ground—to commence a powerful colony.

This is the only fruit of an expenditure of 150,000 ecus—the only means of satisfying his creditors who advanced to him the aid which he required after very considerable losses.

He believes that he has sufficiently established the truth of his discovery by the official instrument signed by all his companions, which was placed last year in the hands of Monseigneur Colbert, by the Count de Frontenac,* as also by a report drawn up by the Reverend Father Zenoble, Missionary, who accompanied him during this voyage, and who is at this time Guardian of Bapaume; by the testimony of three persons who accompanied him, and whom he has brought with him to France, and who are now in Paris; [Note. Jean Bourdon, or the Sieur d'Autray, Gabriel Barbier—who descended the middle mouth channel of the Mississippi—and Nicholas de la Salle. H. W. B.] and by the testimony of many other persons who came this year from Canada, and who have seen one Vital, sent by M. de la Barre to collect information respecting him, on the spot, and who has confirmed the truth of the discovery.

* See this Process Verbal, of the existence of which I was not aware when I printed this passage in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society. The document was first printed by Mr. Jared Sparks, of Boston, and I have reprinted it with these memoirs. The above note is by Mr. Thos. Falconer in his work on the Discovery of the Mississippi.—H. W. B.

All these proofs are sufficient to contradict whatever may have been written to the contrary, by persons who have no knowledge of the country where the discovery was made—never having been there. But he hopes to remove all these prejudices, by carrying into execution the design which he entertains, under the favor of Monseigneur, of returning to the country of his discovery by the mouth of the river in the Gulf of Mexico, since he must have lost his sense, if, without being certain of the means of arriving where he proposes, he exposed not only his own fortune and that of his friends to manifest destruction, but his own honor and reputation to the unavoidable disgrace of having imposed on the confidence of his Majesty and of his ministers. Of this there is less likelihood, because he has no interest to disguise the truth, since, if Monseigneur does not think it convenient to undertake any enterprise in that direction he will not ask anything more from his Majesty until his return from the Gulf of Mexico confirms the truth of what he has alleged. With reference to the assertion, that his voyage would produce no profit to France, he replies, that if he proposed it as a thing to be done, and on that account sought for assistance to undertake the enterprise, or reward after having succeeded in it, its usefulness would deserve consideration; but being here only in order to render an account of the orders he received, he does not think himself to be responsible for anything but their execution, it not being his duty to examine the intentions of Monseigneur Colbert. Having, however, observed great advantages which both France and Canada may derive from his discovery, he believes that he owes this detail to the glory of the King, the welfare of the kingdom—to the honour of the Ministry of Monseigneur, and to the memory of him who employed him upon this expedition. He does this the more willingly, as his requests will not expose him to a suspicion of self-interest;

and as the influence which he has acquired over the people of that continent places him in a position to execute what he proposes, the things which he states will find greater credit in the minds of those who shall investigate them.

Firstly, the service of God may be established there by the preaching of the Gospel to numerous docile and settled [sedentaires] nations, who will be found more willing to receive it than those of other parts of America, upon account of their greater civilization. They have already temples and a form of worship.

Secondly, we can effect there for the glory of our King very important conquests, both by land and by sea; or if peace should oblige us to delay the execution of them, we might, without giving any cause of complaint, make preparations to render us certain of success whenever it shall please the King to command it.

The provinces which may be seized are very rich in silver mines—they adjoin the River Colbert [the Mississippi]—they are far removed from succour—they are open everywhere on the side on which we should attack them, and are defended only by a small number of persons, so sunk in effeminancy and indolence as to be incapable of enduring the fatigue of wars of this description.

The Sieur de la Salle binds himself to have this enterprise ripe for success within one year after his arrival on the spot, and asks only for this purpose one vessel, some arms and munitions, the transport, maintenance, and pay of 200 men during one year. Afterwards he will maintain them from the produce of the country and supply their other wants through the credit and confidence which he has obtained among those nations, and the experience which he has had of those regions. He will give a more detailed account of this proposal when it shall please Monseigneur to direct him.

Thirdly, the river is navigable for more than a hundred leagues for ships, and for barks for more than 500 leagues to the north, and for more than 800 from east to west. Its three mouths are as many harbours, capable of receiving every description of ships; where those of his Majesty will always find a secure retreat, and all that may be necessary to refit, and re-victual—which would be a great economy to his Majesty, who would no longer find it necessary to send the things needed from France at a great expense, the country producing the greater part of them. We could even build there as many ships as we should desire, the materials for building and rigging them being in abundance, with the exception of iron, which may perhaps be discovered.

In the first place we should obtain there everything which has enriched New England and Virginia, and which constitute the foundation of their commerce and of their great wealth—timber of every kind—salted meat, tallow, corn, sugar, tobacco, honey, wax, resin, and other gums; immense pasturages, hemp, and other articles with which more than 200 vessels are every year freighted in New England to carry elsewhere.

The newly-discovered country has, besides its other advantages, that of the soil, which, being only partly covered with wood, forms a campaign of great fertility and extent, scarcely requiring any clearing. The mildness of the climate is favorable to the rearing of a large number of cattle, which cause great expense where the winter is severe. There is also a prodigious number [plus un nombre prodigieux] of buffaloes, stags, hinds, roes, bears, otters, lynxes. Hides and furs are to be had there almost for nothing [a vil prix], the savages not yet knowing the value of our commodities. There are cotton, cochineal, nuts, turnsols,—entire forests of mulberry trees—salt,

slate, coal, vines, apple trees; so that it would be easy to make wine, cyder, oil of nuts, of turnsols, and of olives also, if olive trees were planted there, silk and dye-woods. It will not be necessary to import from Europe, horses, oxen, swine, fowls, or turkeys, which are to be found in different parts of the country, nor to import provisions for the colonists, who would quickly find subsistence.

Whilst other colonies are open and exposed to the descents of foreigners by as many points as their coasts are washed by the sea, whereby they are placed under a necessity of having many persons to watch these points of access, one single post, established towards the lower part of the river, will be sufficient to protect a territory extending more than 800 leagues from north to south, and still farther from east to west, because its banks are only accessible from the sea through the mouth of the river, the remainder of the coast being impenetrable inland for more than 20 leagues, in consequence of woods, bogs, reeds, and marshes [terres tremblantes], through which it is impossible to march; and this may be the reason why the exploration of that river has been neglected by the Spaniards, if they had any knowledge of it. This country is equally well defended in the interior against the irruptions of neighboring Europeans, by great chains of mountains stretching from east to west, from which branches of the river take their source.

It is true that the country is more open towards the southwest, where it borders on Mexico, where the very navigable river the Seignelay, [Note. Red River, so called for a time, in honor of Jean Baptiste Colbert, Marquis de Seignelay, son of Colbert the elder and who succeeded his father in 1683 as Minister of the French Marine and Colonies. H. W. B.] which is one of the branches of the Colbert, [the Mississippi] is only separated by a forest of three or four days' journey in depth. But besides that

the Spaniards there are feeble and far removed from the assistance of Mexico, and from that which they could expect by sea, this place is protected from their insults by a great number of warlike savages, who close this passage to them, and who, constantly engaged with them in cruel wars, would certainly inflict greater evil when sustained by some French, whose more mild and more humane mode of government will prove a great means for the preservation of the peace made between them and the Sieur de la Salle.

To maintain this establishment, which is the only one required in order to obtain all the advantages mentioned, 200 men only are needed, who would also construct the fortifications and buildings, and effect the clearings necessary for the sustenance of the colony; after which there would be no further expenditure. The goodness of the country will induce the settlers [habitans] to remain there willingly. The ease in which they will live will make them attend to the cultivation of the soil, and to the production of articles of commerce, and will remove all desire to imitate the inhabitants of New France, who are obliged to seek subsistence in the woods under great fatigues, in hunting for peltries which are their principal resource. These vagrant courses, common in New France, will be easily prevented in the new country, because, as its rivers are all navigable, there will be a great facility for the savages to come to our settlements and for us to go to them in boats which can ascend all the branches of the river.

If foreigners anticipate us, they will deprive France of all the advantages to be expected from the success of the enterprise. They will complete the ruin of New France, which they already hem in through Virginia, Pennsylvania, New England, and the Hudson's Bay. They will not fail to ascend the river as high as possible, and to establish colonies in the places nearest to the savages who now bring

their furs to Montreal—they will make constant inroads into the countries of the latter, which could not be repressed by ordinances of his Majesty. They have already made several attempts to discover this passage, and they will not neglect it now that the whole world knows that it is discovered, since the Dutch have published it in their newspapers upwards of a year ago. Nothing more is required than to maintain the possession taken by the Sieur de la Salle, in order to deprive them of such a desire, and to place ourselves in a position to undertake enterprises against them glorious to the arms of his Majesty, who will probably derive the greatest benefits from the duties he will levy there, as in other colonies.

Even if this affair should prove hurtful to New France, it will contribute to its security, and render our commerce in furs more considerable.

There will be nothing to fear from the Iroquois when the nations of the south, strengthened through their intercourse with the French, shall stop their conquests, and prevent their being powerful, by carrying off a great number of their women and children, which they can easily do from the inferiority of the weapons of their enemies. As respects commerce, that post* will probably increase our traffic still more than has been done by the establishment of Fort Frontenac, which was built with success for that purpose, for if the Illinois and their allies were to catch the beavers, which the Iroquois now kill in their neighborhood in order to carry to the English, the latter, not being any longer able to get them from their own colonies, would be obliged to buy them from us, to the great benefit of those who have the privilege of this traffic. These were the views which the Sieur de la Salle had in placing the settlement where it is. [Note. At and near what is now known as Starved Rock on the Illinois river a few miles below Ottawa. H. W. B.]

* Ft. St. Louis of Illinois.—H. W. B.

The colony has already felt its effects, as all our allies, who had fled after the departure of M. de Frontenac, have returned to their ancient dwellings, in consequence of the confidence caused by the fort, near which they have defeated a party of Iroquois, and have built four other forts to protect themselves from hostile incursions. The Governor, M. de la Barre, and the Intendant, M. de Meulles, have told the Sieur de la Salle that they would write to Monseigneur to inform him of the importance of that fort in order to keep the Iroquois in check, and that M. de Lagny* had proposed its establishment in 1678. Monseigneur Colbert permitted Sieur de la Salle to build it, and granted it to him as a property. In order to prove to Monseigneur the sincerity of his intentions still more, and that he had no other motive in selecting this site than the protection of the men he has left there, and whom he did not think right to place in such small number, within the reach of the Spaniards, and without cannon and munition, or to leave in so distant a country, where in case of sickness they could expect no assistance, nor to return home from thence without danger—he offers again to descend the river a hundred leagues lower down, and nearer the sea, and to establish there another fort, demolishing the first, in the expectation, however, that Monseigneur would consider the expenses incurred in its establishment.

It may be said, firstly, that this colony might injure the commerce of Quebec, and cause the desertion of its inhabitants; but the answer is, that by descending lower down, no beavers will be found. Thus the first difficulty will be removed, which again would not have any foundation, even if Fort St. Louis were to remain. The Illinois will only kill the beaver, which, after their departure, would fall to the share of the Iroquois only, as no other nation dares to approach those districts. There is also no likelihood

* Intendant-General of Commerce and Foreign Affairs of France.—H. W. B.

that deserters would choose a long and difficult route, at the end of which they would be still subject to be apprehended and punished, whilst they have another much shorter and easier one to New England, where they are quite secure, and which many take every year.

A second objection would be, that the goodness of the country would attract so many people as to diminish the population of France, as it is said Mexico and Peru have depopulated Spain; but, besides that, France is more peopled than Spain has ever been, and that the expulsion of 1.800,000 Moors, added to the great wars she has had to sustain, is the real cause of its diminished population. It is certain that the number of the few Spaniards in those kingdoms, who are not above 40,000, is not a number of emigrants sufficient to make any perceptible change in France, which already counts more than 100,000 settlers in foreign countries. It would be even desirable that instead of peopling other foreign kingdoms, the riches of the country newly discovered should attract them to it. Moreover, this objection has already been answered, when it was said that the country can be defended by one or two forts, for the protection of which only from 400 to 500 men are required, a number comprising only one-half of the crew of a large vessel.

Whatever has been imagined respecting the mud and breakers which are supposed to stop the mouth of the river, is easily disproved by the experience of those who have been there, and who found the entrances fine, deep, and capable of admitting the largest vessels. It would appear that the land or levees de terre are covered in many parts with wood growing along the channel of the river very far into the sea; and where the sea is deep they would not be suspected, because even the creeks of the sea are tolerably deep at that distance, and besides, there is every appearance that the current of the river has formed these

kind of dikes, by showing on both sides the mud with which the winds fill the neighboring creeks, because those causeways are to the right and left of the river, forming for it a bed, as it were, by their separation. Nor can it be believed that these levees will ever change their position, since they consist of a hard soil, covered with pretty large trees following regularly the banks of the river, which form the bed of it for more than six leagues into the sea.

In the memoir respecting New Biscay, the difficulty has been dealt with respecting the inconstancy of the savages. They know too well how important it is to them to live on good terms with us, to fail in their fidelity, in which they have never been known to fail in New France. Such an event is still less to be apprehended from those who are obedient and submissive to their caziques, whose good-will it is sufficient to gain, in order to keep the rest in obedience.

LETTERS PATENT.

GRANTED BY THE KING OF FRANCE TO THE SIEUR DE LA SALLE, ON THE 12TH OF MAY, 1678.

TRANSLATION.

LOUIS, by the grace of God, King of France and of Navarre. To our dear and well-loved Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, greeting:

We have received with favor the very humble petition, which has been presented to us in your name, to permit you to endeavor to discover the western part of New France; and we have consented to this proposal the more willingly, because there is nothing we have more at heart than the discovery of this country, through which it is probable a road may be found to penetrate to Mexico [dans laquel il y a apparence que l'on trouvera un chemin pour penetrar jusqu'au Mexique]; and because your diligence in clearing the lands which we granted to you by the decree of our council of the 13th of May, 1675, and, by Letters Patent of the same date, to form habitations upon the said lands, and to put Fort Frontenac in a good state of defence, the seigniory and government whereof we likewise granted to you, affords us every reason to hope that you will succeed to our satisfaction, and to the advantage of our subjects of the said country.

For these reasons, and others thereunto moving us, we have permitted, and do hereby permit you, by these presents, signed by our hand, to endeavor to discover the western part of New France, and, for the execution of this en-

terprise, to construct forts wherever you shall deem it necessary; which it is our will that you shall hold on the same terms and conditions as Fort Frontenac, agreeably and conformably to our said Letters Patent of the 13th of March, 1675, which we have confirmed, as far as is needful, and hereby confirm by these presents. And it is our pleasure that they be executed according to their form and tenor.

To accomplish this, and everything above mentioned, we give you full powers; on condition, however, that you shall finish this enterprise within five years, in default of which these presents shall be void and of none effect; that you carry on no trade whatever with the savages called Outaouacs, and others who bring their beaver skins and other peltries to Montreal; and that the whole shall be done at your expense, and that of your company, to which we have granted the privilege of the trade in buffalo skins. And we command the Sieur de Frontenac, our Governor and Lieutenant-General, and the Sieur Duchense, Intendant, and the other officers who compose the supreme council of the said country, to affix their signatures to these presents; for such is our pleasure. Given at St. Germain en Laye, this 12th day of May, 1678, and of our reign the thirty-fifth.

[Signed] LOUIS.

And lower down, By the King,
COLBERT.

And sealed with the great seal with yellow wax.

The act of the Governor, attached to these presents, is dated the 5th of November, 1678.*

* I have a MS. copy of the original in French, and have corrected the translation which was published by Mr. Sparks. This note is by Falconer in his work on the Discovery of the Mississippi, published in 1844.—H. W. B.

1678-1691—HENRY DE TONTY'S MEMOIR OF 1693.

His Early Military Life—Joins La Salle—Is His Confident, Trusted Aid and a Narrator of His Projects in New France.

"Memoir Sent in 1693, on the Discovery of the Mississippi and the Neighboring Nations by M. de la Salle, from the Year 1678 to the Time of His Death, and by the Sieur de Tonty to the Year 1691."*

Memoir, Etc.

AFTER having been eight years in the French service, by land and by sea, and having had a hand shot off in Sicily by a grenade, I resolved to return to France to solicit employment. At that time the late M. Cavelier de la Salle came to Court, a man of great intelligence and merit who sought to obtain leave to discover the Gulf of Mexico by crossing the southern countries of North America. Having obtained of the King the permission he desired through the favor of the late M. Colbert and M. de Seignelai, the late Monseigneur the Prince Conty, who was acquainted with him and who honoured me with his favor, directed me to him to be allowed to accompany him in his long journeys, which he very willingly assented to.

We sailed from Rochelle on the 14th of July, 1678, and arrived at Quebec on the 15th of September following. We recruited there for some days, and after having taken leave of M. de Frontenac, ascended the St. Lawrence as far as Fort Frontenac [Kingston], 120 leagues from Quebec on the banks of the Lake Frontenac [Lake Ontario], which is about 300 lagues round. After staying there four days, we embarked in a boat [named "The Little Brigantine] of 40

* This document was addressed to Count de Pontchertrain, Minister of the Marine and Colonies, and Abbe Renaudot, a particular friend of M. de la Salle, in 1693. A translation of it appears in Falconer.—H. W. B.

to cross the lake, and on Christmas day we were opposite a village called Isonnoutouan to which M. de la Salle sent some canoes to procure Indian corn for our subsistence. From thence we sailed towards Niagara, intending to look for a place above the Falls where a boat might be built. The winds were so contrary that we could not approach it nearer than nine leagues, which obliged us to go by land. We found there some cabins of the Iroquois, who received us well. We slept there, and the next day we went three leagues further up to look for a good place to build a boat, and there encamped.

The boat we came in was lost through the obstinacy of the pilot, whom M. de la Salle had ordered to bring it ashore. The crew and the things in it were saved. M. de la Salle determined to return to Fort Frontenac over the ice, and I remained in command at Niagara with a Father Recollet and 30 men. The boat was completed in the spring. M. de la Salle joined us with two other boats up the rapids, which I was not able to ascend on account of the weakness of my crew. He directed me to proceed and wait for him at the extremity of Lake Erie, at a place called Detroit, 120 leagues from Niagara, to join some Frenchmen whom he had sent off the last autumn. I embarked in a canoe of bark, and when we were near Detroit the boat [built above Niagara and named the "Griffin"] came up. We got into it, and continued our voyage as far as Michilimakinac, where we arrived at the end of August, having crossed two lakes larger than that of Frontenac [Ontario].

We remained there some days to rest ourselves, and as M. de la Salle intended to go to the Illinois, he sent me to the Falls of St. Mary, which is situated where lake Superior discharges itself into Lake Huron, to look for some men who had deserted, and he in the meantime sailed for the Lake Illinois. Having arrived at Pout-

ouatamis, an Illinois village, the calumet was sung, during which ceremony presents are given and received. There is a post placed in the midst of the assembly, where those who wish to make known their great deeds in war, striking the post, declaim on the deeds they have done. This ceremony takes place in presence of those with whom they wish to make friendship, the calumet being the symbol of peace. M. de la Salle sent his boat back to Niagara to fetch the things he wanted, and, embarking in a canoe, continued his voyage to the Miamis River, and there commenced building a house.

In the meantime I came up with the deserters, and brought them back to within 30 leagues of the Miamis River, where I was obliged to leave my men, in order to hunt, our provisions failing us. I then went on to join M. de la Salle. When I arrived he told me he wished that all the men had come with me in order that he might proceed to the Illinois. I therefore retraced my way to find them, but the violence of the wind forced me to land, and our canoe was upset by the violence of the waves. It was, however, saved, but everything that was in it was lost, and for want of provisions we lived for three days on acorns. I sent word of what had happened to M. de la Salle and he directed me to join him. I went back in my little canoe, and as soon as I arrived we ascended 25 leagues, as far as the portage, where the men whom I had left behind joined us. We made the portage which extends about two leagues and came to the source of the Illinois River. We embarked there and descending the river for 100 leagues arrived at a village of the savages. They were absent hunting and as we had no provisions we opened some caches of Indian corn.

During this journey some of our Frenchmen were so fatigued that they determined to leave us, but the night they intended to go was so cold that their plan was broken

up. We continued our route, in order to join the savages and found them 30 leagues above [below] the village. When they saw us they thought we were Iroquois, and put themselves on the defensive and made their women run into the woods; but when they recognized us the women were called back with their children and the calumet was danced to M. de la Salle and me, in order to mark their desire to live in peace with us. We gave them some merchandise for the corn which he had taken in their village. This was on the 3d of January, 1679 [1680].

As it was necessary to fortify ourselves during the winter we made a fort which was called Crevecoeur. Part of our people deserted and they had even put poison into our kettle. M. de la Salle was poisoned, but he was saved by some antidote a friend had given to him in France. The desertion of these men gave us less annoyance than the effect which it had on the minds of the savages. The enemies of M. de la Salle had spread a report among the Illinois that we were friends of the Iroquois, who are their greatest enemies. The effect this produced will be seen hereafter.

M. de la Salle commenced building a boat to descend the river. He sent a Father Recollect with the Sieur Deau [Michel Accan] to discover the nation of the Sioux, 400 leagues from the Illinois on the Mississippi river southwards [of Peoria Lake], a river that runs not less than 800 leagues to the sea without rapids. He determined to go himself by land to Fort Frontenac because he had heard nothing of the boat which he had sent to Niagara. He gave me the command of this place and left us on the 22d of March with five men. On his road he met with two men, whom he had sent in the autumn to Michilimakinac to obtain news of his boat. They assured him that it had not come down, and he therefore determined to continue his journey. The two men were sent to me with orders to go to the old village to visit a

high rock [Starved rock on the Illinois River. H. W. B.] and to build a strong fort upon it.

Whilst I was proceeding thither all my men deserted and took away everything that was most valuable. They left me with two Recollects and three men, newly arrived from France, stripped of everthing and at the mercy of the savages. All that I could do was to send an authentic account of the affair to M. de la Salle. He laid wait for them on Lake Frontenac, took some of them and killed others, after which he returned to the Illinois. As for his boat, it was never heard of.

During the time this happened, the Illinois were greatly alarmed at seeing a party of 600 Iroquois. It was then near the month of September. The desertion of our men and the journey of M. de la Salle to Fort Frontenac made the [Illinois] savages suspect that we intended to betray them. They severely reproached me on the arrival of their enemies. As I was so recently come from France and was not then acquainted with their manners, I was embarrassed at this event and determined to go to the enemy with necklaces and to tell them that I was surprised they should come to make war with a nation dependent on the government of New France, and which M. de la Salle, whom they esteemed, governed. An Illinois accompanied me, and we separated ourselves from the body of the Illinois, who, to the number of 400 only, were fighting with the enemy. When I was within gun-shot the Iroquois shot at us, seized me, took the necklace from my hand, and one of them plunged a knife into my breast, wounding a rib near the heart. However, having recognized me, they carried me into the midst of the camp and asked me what I came for. I gave them to understand that the Illinois were under the protection of the King of France and of the Governor of the country and that I was surprised that they wished to break with the French, and not to continue at peace. All this time skir-

mishing was going on on both sides, and a warrior came to give notice that their left wing was giving way, and that they had recognized some Frenchmen among the Illinois, who shot at them. On this they were greatly irritated against me and held a council on what they should do with me. There was a man behind me with a knife in his hand, who every now and then lifted up my hair. They were divided in opinion.

Tegantouki, chief of the Isontoutouan, desired to have me burnt. Agoasto, chief of the Onnoutagues, wished to have me set at liberty, as a friend of M. de la Salle, and he carried his point. They agreed that, in order to deceive the Illinois, they should give me a necklace of porcelain beads to prove that they also were children of the Governor, and ought to unite and make a good peace. They sent me to deliver this message to the Illinois. I had much difficulty in reaching them on account of the blood I had lost, both from my wound and from my mouth. On my way I met the Fathers Gabriel de la Ribourde and Zenoble Membre, who were coming to look after me. They expressed great joy that these barbarians had not put me to death. We went together to the Illinois, to whom I reported the sentiments of the Iroquois, adding, however, that they must not altogether trust them. They retired within their village, but seeing the Iroquois present themselves every day in battle array they went to rejoin their wives and children, three leagues off. When they went I was left with the two Recollets and three Frenchmen. The Iroquois made a fort in their village and left us in a cabin at some distance from their fort.

Two days later, the Illinois appearing on the neighboring hills, the Iroquois thought that we had some in their fort. They pressed me to return to the Illinois and induce them to make a treaty of peace. They gave me one of their own nation as a hostage, and I went with Father

Zenoble. The Iroquois remained with the Illinois, and one of the latter came with me. When we got to the fort, instead of mending matters, he spoilt them entirely by owning that they had in all only 400 men and that the rest of their young men were gone to war, and that if the Iroquois really wished for peace they were ready to give them the beaver skins and some slaves which they had. The Iroquois called me to them and loaded me with reproaches; they told me that I was a liar to have said that the Illinois had 1,200 warriors, besides the allies who had given them assistance. Where were the 60 Frenchmen whom I had told them had been left at the village? I had much difficulty in getting out of the scrape.

The same evening they sent back the Illinois to tell his nation to come the next day to within half a league of the fort and that they would there conclude the peace, which in fact they did, at noon. The Iroquois gave them presents of necklaces and merchandise. The first necklace signified that the Governor of New France was angry at their having come to molest their brothers; the second was addressed to M. de la Salle with the same meaning, and the third, accompanied with merchandise, bound them as by oath to a strict alliance that hereafter they should live as brothers. They then separated and the Illinois believed, after these presents, in the sincerity of the peace, which induced them to come several times into the fort of Iroquois, where some Illinois chiefs having asked me what I thought, I told them they had everthing to fear, that their enemies had no good faith, that I knew that they were making canoes of elm bark and that consequently it was intended to pursue them, and that they should take advantage of any delay to retire to some distant nation for that they would most assuredly be betrayed.

The eighth day after their arrival, on the 10th of September [18th of September] the Iroquois called me and the

Father Zenoble to council, and having made me sit down, they placed six packets of beaver skins before us and addressing me they said that the two first packets were to inform M. de Frontenac that they would not eat his children and that he should not be angry at what they had done; the third, a plaster for my wound; the fourth, some oil to rub on my own and Father Zenoble's limbs, on account of the long journey we had taken; the fifth, that the sun was bright; the sixth, that we should profit by it and depart the next day for the French settlements. I asked them when they would go away themselves. Murmurs arose, and some of them said that they would eat some of the Illinois before they went away; upon which I kicked away their presents, saying that I would have none of them, since they desired to eat the children of the Governor. An Abenakis who was with them, who spoke French, told me that I irritated them, and the chiefs rising drove me from the council.

We went to our cabin, where we passed the night on our guard, resolved to kill some of them before they should kill us, for we thought that we should not live out the night. However, at daybreak they directed us to depart, which we did. After five hours' sailing we landed to dry our peltries, which were wet, while we repaired our canoe. The Father Gabriel told me he was going aside to pray. I advised him not to go away, because we were surrounded by enemies. He went about 1,000 paces off and was taken by 40 savages, of a nation called Kikapous, who carried him away and broke his head. Finding that he did not return, I went to look for him with one of the men. Having discovered his trail, I found it cut by several others, which joined and ended at last in one. I brought back this sad news to the Father Zenoble, who was greatly grieved at it. Towards evening we made a great fire, hoping that perhaps he might return; and we went over to the other side of the

river where we kept a good look out. Towards midnight we saw a man at a distance and then many others.

The next day we crossed over the river to look for our crew and after waiting till noon we embarked and reached the Lake Illinois by short journeys, always hoping to meet with the good father. After having sailed on the lake as far as La Touissant we were wrecked, 20 leagues from the village of Poutouatamis. Our provisions failing us, I left a man to take care of our things and went off by land, but as I had a fever constantly on me, and my legs were swollen, we did not arrive at this village till St. Martin's day [November 11]. During this journey we lived on wild garlick, which we were obliged to grub up from under the snow. When we arrived we found no savages; they were gone to their winter quarters. We were obliged to go to the places they had left, where we obtained hardly as much as two handfuls of Indian corn a day and some frozen gourds, which we piled up in a cabin at the water's side.

Whilst we were gleaning, a Frenchman whom we had left at the cache came to the cabin where we had left our little store of provisions. He thought we had put them there for him, and therefore did not spare them. We were very much surprised, as we were going off to Michilimakinac, to find him in the cabin where he had arrived three days before. We had much pleasure in seeing him again, but little to see our provisions partly consumed. We did not delay to embark, and after two hours' sail, the wind in the offing obliged us to land, when I saw a fresh trail and directed that it should be followed. It led to the Poutouatamis village, who had made a portage to the bay of the Puans. The next day, weak as we were, we carried our canoe and all our things into this bay, to which there was a league of portage. We embarked in Sturgeon Creek, and turned to the right at hazard, not knowing where to go. After sail-

ing for a league we found a number of cabins, which led us to expect soon to find the savages.

Five leagues from this place we were stopped by the wind for eight days, which compelled us to consume the few provisions we had collected together, and at last we were without anything. We held council, and despairing of being able to come up with the savages, every one asked to return to the village, where at least there was wood, so that we might die warm. The wind lulling, we set off, and on entering Sturgeon's Creek we saw a fire made by savages who had just gone away. We thought they were gone to their village and determined to go there, but the creek having frozen in the night, we could not proceed in our canoe. We made shoes of the late Father Gabriel's cloak, having no leather. We were to have started in the morning, but one of my men being very ill from having eaten some parre-fleche [rock moss], in the evening, delayed us. As I was urging our starting, two Ottawas savages, came up, who led us to where the Poutouatamis were. We found some Frenchmen with them, who kindly received us. I spent the winter with them, and the Father Zenoble left us to pass the winter with the Jesuits at the end of the bay.

I left this place in the spring for Michilimakinac, hardly recovered from the effects of which we had suffered from hunger and cold during 34 days. We arrived at Michilimakinac about the fete Dieu in October. M. de la Salle arrived with M. Forest some days afterwards, on his way to seek us at the Illinois. He was very glad to see us again, and notwithstanding the many past reverses, made new preparations to continue the discovery which he had undertaken. I therefore embarked with him for Fort Frontenac, to fetch things that we should want for the expedition. The Father Zenoble accompanied us. When we came to Lake Frontenac, M.

de la Salle went forward, and I waited for his boat at the village of Tezagon. When it arrived there I embarked for Illinois. At the Miamis River I assembled some Frenchmen and savages for the voyage of discovery, and M. de la Salle joined us in October.

We went in canoes to the River Chicagou, where there is a portage which joins that of the Illinois. The rivers being frozen we made sledges and dragged our baggage 30 leagues below the village of Illinois, where, finding the navigation open, we arrived at the end of January at the great River Mississippi. The distance from Chicagou was estimated at 140 leagues. We descended the river and found, six leagues below, on the right, a great river, which comes from the west, on which there are numerous nations. We slept at its mouth. The next day we went on to the village of Tamarous, six leagues off on the left. There was no one there, all the people being at their winter quarters in the woods. We made marks to inform the savages that we had passed, and continued our route as far as the River Ouabache, which is 80 leagues from that of the Illinois. It comes from the east and is more than 500 leagues in length. It is by this river that the Iroquois advance to make war against the nations of the south. Continuing our voyage about 60 leagues, we came to a place which was named Fort Prudhomme, because one of our men lost himself there when out hunting and was nine days without food. As they were looking for him they fell in with two Chikasas savages, whose village was three days' journey inland. They have 2,000 warriors, the greatest number of whom have flat heads, which is considered a beauty among them, the women taking pains to flatten the heads of their children, by means of a cushion which they put on the forehead and bind with a band, which they also fasten to the cradle, and thus make their heads take this form. When they grow up their faces are

as big as a large soup plate. All the nations on the sea-coast have the same custom.

M. de la Salle sent back one of them with presents to his village, so that, if they had taken Prudhomme they might send him back, but we found him on the tenth day, and as the Chikasas did not return, we continued our route as far as the village of Cappa, 50 leagues off. We arrived there in foggy weather, and as we heard the sound of the tambour we crossed over to the other side of the river, where in less than half an hour we made a fort. The savages having been informed that we were coming down the river, came in their canoes to look for us. We made them land, and sent two Frenchmen as hostages to their village, the chief visited us with the calumet, and we went to the savages. They regaled us with the best they had, and after having danced the calumet to M. de la Salle, they conducted us to their village of Toyengan, eight leagues from Cappa. They received us there in the same manner, and from thence they went with us to Toriman, two leagues further on, where we met with the same reception.

It must be here remarked that these villages, the first of which is Osotony, are six leagues to the right descending the river, and are commonly called Akancas [Arkansas]. The three first villages are situated on the great river [Mississippi]. M. de la Salle erected the arms of the king there; they have cabins made with the bark of cedar; they have no other worship than the adoration of all sorts of animals. Their country is very beautiful, having abundance of peach, plum and apple trees, and vines flourish there; buffaloes, deer, stags, bears, turkeys, are very numerous. They have even domestic fowls. They have very little snow during the winter, and the ice is not thicker than a dollar. They gave us guides to conduct us to their allies, the Taencas, six leagues distant.

The first day we began to see and to kill alligators, which are numerous, and from 15 to 20 feet long. When we arrived opposite to the village of the Taencas, M. de la Salle desired me to go to it and inform the chief of his arrival. I went with our guides, and we had to carry a bark canoe for ten arpens, and to launch it on a small lake in which their village was placed. I was surprised to find cabins made of mud and covered with cane mats. The cabin of the chief was 40 feet square, the wall 10 feet high, a foot thick, and the roof, which was of a dome shape, about 15 feet high. I was not less surprised when, on entering, I saw the chief seated on a camp bed, with three of his wives at his side, surrounded by more than 60 old men, clothed in large white cloaks, which are made by the women out of the bark of the mulberry tree, and are tolerably well worked. The women were clothed in the same manner, and every time the chief spoke to them, before answering him, they howled and cried out several times—"O-o-o-o-o!" to show their respect for him, for their chiefs are held in as much consideration as our kings.

No one drinks out of the chief's cup, nor eats out of his plate, and no one passes before him; when he walks they clean the path before him. When he dies they sacrifice his youngest wife, his house-steward [maitre d'hotel], and a hundred men, to accompany him into the other world. They have a form of worship, and adore the sun. There is a temple opposite the house of the chief, and similar to it, except that three eagles are placed on this temple who look towards the rising sun. The temple is surrounded with strong mud walls, in which are fixed spikes on which they place the heads of their enemies whom they sacrifice to the sun. At the door of the temple is a block of wood, on which is a great shell [vignot], and plaited round with the hair of their enemies in a plait as thick as an arm and about 20 fathoms [toises]

long. The inside of the temple is naked; there is an altar in the middle, and at the foot of the altar three logs of wood are placed on end, and a fire is kept up day and night by two old priests [jongleurs], who are the directors [maitres] of their worship. These old men showed me a small cabinet within the wall, made of mats of cane. Desiring to see what was inside, the old men prevented me, giving me to understand that their God was there. But I have since learnt that it is the place where they keep their treasure, such as fine pearls which they fish up in the neighborhood, and European merchandise.

At the last quarter of the moon all the cabins make an offering of a dish of the best food they have, which is placed at the door of the temple. The old men take care to carry it away and to make a good feast of it with their families. Every spring they make a clearing, which they name "the field of the spirit," when all the men work to the sound of the tambour. In the autumn the Indian corn is harvested with much ceremony and stored in magazines until the moon of June in the following year, when all the village assemble, and invite their neighbors to eat it. They do not leave the ground until they have eaten it all, making great rejoicings the whole time. This is all I learnt of this nation. The three villages below have the same customs.

Let us return to the chief. When I was in his cabin he told me with a smiling countenance the pleasure he felt at the arrival of the French. I saw that one of his wives wore a pearl necklace. I presented her with ten yards of blue grass beads in exchange for it. She made some difficulty, but the chief having told her to let me have it, she did so. I carried it to M. de la Salle, giving him an account of all that I had seen and told him that the chief intended to visit him the next day—which he did. He would not have done this for savages but the hope of obtaining some

merchandise induced him to act thus. He came the next day with wooden canoes to the sound of the tambour and the music of the women. The savages of the river use no other boats than these. M. de la Salle received him with much politeness, and gave him some presents; they gave us, in return, plenty of provisions and some of their robes. The chiefs returned well satisfied. We stayed during the day, which was the 22nd of March. An observation gave 31 degrees of latitude.

We left on the 22nd, and slept in an island ten leagues off. The next day we saw a canoe, and M. de la Salle ordered me to chase it, which I did, and as I was just on the point of taking it, more than 100 men appeared on the banks of the river to defend their people. M. de la Salle shouted out to me to come back, which I did. We went on and encamped opposite them. Afterwards, M. de la Salle expressing a wish to meet them peacefully, I offered to carry to them the calumet, and embarking, went to them. At first they joined their hands, as a sign that they wished to be friends; I, who had but one hand, told our men to do the same thing.

I made the chief men among them cross over to M. de la Salle, who accompanied them to their village, three leagues inland, and passed the night there with some of his men. The next day he returned with the chief of the village where he had slept, who was a brother of the great chief of the Natches; he conducted us to his brother's village, situated on the hill side near the river, at six leagues distance. We were very well received there. This nation counts more than 300 warriors. Here the men cultivate the ground, hunt and fish, as well as the Taencas, and their manners are the same. We departed thence on Good Friday, and after a voyage of 20 leagues, encamped at the mouth of a large river, which runs from the west. We

continued our journey, and crossed a great canal, which went towards the sea on the right.

Thirty leagues further on we saw some fishermen on the bank of the river, and sent to reconnoitre them. It was the village of the Quinipissas, who let fly their arrows upon our men, who retired in consequence. As M. de la Salle would not fight against any nation, he made us embark. Twelve leagues from this village, on the left, is that of the Tangibaos. Scarcely eight days before, this village had been totally destroyed. Dead bodies were lying one on another and the cabins were burnt. We proceeded on our course, and after sailing forty leagues, arrived at the sea on the 7th of April.

M. de la Salle sent canoes to inspect the channels, some of them went to the channel on the right hand, some to the left, and M. de la Salle chose the centre. In the evening each made his report, that is to say, that the channels were very fine, wide, and deep. We encamped on the right bank, we erected the arms of the King, and returned several times to inspect the channels. The same report was made. This river is 800 leagues long, without rapids, 400 from the country of the Scioux, and 400 from the mouth of the Illinois river to the sea. The banks are almost uninhabitable, on account of the spring floods. The woods are all those of a boggy district, the country one of canes and briars and of trees torn up by the roots; but a league or two from the river, the most beautiful country in the world, prairies, woods of mulberry trees, vines and fruits that we were not acquainted with. The savages gather the Indian corn twice in the year. In the lower part of the river, which might be settled, the river makes a bend N. and S., and in many places every now and then is joined by streams on the right and left.

The river is only navigable [for large vessels?] as far as the village of the Natches, for above that place the river

winds too much; but this does not prevent the navigation of the river from the confluence of the Ouabache and the Mississippi as far as the sea. There are but few beavers, but to make amends, there is a large number of buffaloes, bears, large wolves—stags and hinds in abundance—and some lead mines, which yield two-thirds of ore to one of refuse. As these savages are stationary [sedentaires], and have some habits of subordination, they might be obliged to make silk in order to procure necessaries for themselves; bringing to them from France the eggs of silkworms, for the forests are full of mulberry trees. This would be a valuable trade.

TONTY'S MEMOIR—CONTINUED.

As for the country of Illinois, the river runs 100 leagues from the Fort St. Louis, to where it falls into the Mississippi. Thus it may be said to contain some of the finest lands ever seen. The climate is the same as that of Paris, though in the 40th degree of latitude. The savages there are active and brave, but extremely lazy, except in war, when they think nothing of seeking their enemies at a distance of 500 or 600 leagues from their own country. This constantly occurs in the country of the Iroquois, whom, at my instigation, they continually harass. Not a year passes in which they do not take a number of prisoners and scalps. A few pieces of pure copper, whose origin we have not sought, are found in the river of the Illinois country. Polygamy prevails in this nation, and is one of the great hindrances to the introduction of Christianity, as well as the fact of their having no form of worship of their own. The nations lower down would be more easily converted, because they adore the sun, which is their divinity. This is all that I am able to relate of those parts.

Let us return to the sea coast, where, provisions failing, we were obliged to leave it sooner than we wished, in order to obtain provisions in the neighboring villages. We did not know how to get anything from the village of the Quinipissas, who had so ill received us as we went down the river. We lived on potatoes until six leagues from their village, when we saw smoke. M. de la Salle went to reconnoitre at night. Our people reported that they had seen some women. We went on at daybreak and taking four of the women, encamped on the opposite bank. One of the women was sent with

merchandise to prove that we had no evil design and wished for their alliance and for provisions. She made her report. Some of them came immediately and invited us to encamp on the other bank, which we did. We sent back the three other women, keeping, however, constant guard. They brought us some provisions in the evening, and the next morning, at daybreak, the scoundrels attacked us.

We vigorously repulsed them, and by 10 o'clock burnt their canoes, and, but for the fear of our ammunition failing, we should have attacked their village. We left in the evening in order to reach Natches where we had left a quantity of grain on passing down. When we arrived there the chief came out to meet us. M. de la Salle made them a present of the scalps we had taken from the Quinipissas. They had already heard the news, for they had resolved to betray and kill us. We went up to their village and as we saw no women there, we had no doubt of their having some evil design. In a moment we were surrounded by 1,500 men. They brought us something to eat, and we ate with our guns in our hands. As they were afraid of firearms, they did not dare to attack us. The chief begged M. de la Salle to go away, as his young men had not much sense, which we very willingly did—the game not being equal, we having only 50 men, French and savages. We then went on to the Taencas, and then to the Arkansas, where we were well received.

From thence we came to Fort Prudhomme, where M. de la Salle fell dangerously ill which obliged him to send me forward, on the 6th of May, to arrange his affairs at Missilimakinac. In passing near the Ouabache, I found four Iroquois, who told us that there were 100 men of their nation coming on after them. This gave us some alarm. There is no pleasure in meeting warriors on one's road, especially when they have been unsuccessful. I left them and at about 20

leagues from Tamaraas we saw smoke. I ordered our people to prepare their arms, and we resolved to advance, expecting to meet the Iroquois. When we were near the smoke, we saw some canoes, which made us think that they could only be Illinois or Tamaraas. They were in fact the latter. As soon as they saw us, they came out of the wood in great numbers to attack us, taking us for Iroquois.

I presented the calumet to them—they put down their arms and conducted us to their village without doing us any harm. The chiefs held a council, and, taking us for Iroquois, resolved to burn us; and, but for some Illinois among us, we should have fared ill. They let us proceed. We arrived about the end of June, 1683 [1682], at the River Chicaou, and, by the middle of July, at Michilimakinac. M. de la Salle, having recovered, joined us in September. Resolving to go to France, he ordered me to collect together the French who were on the River Miamis to construct the Fort of St. Louis in the Illinois. I left with this design, and when I arrived at the place, M. de la Salle, having changed his mind, joined me. They set to work at the fort, and it was finished in March, 1683.

During the winter I gave all the nations notice of what we had done to defend them from the Iroquois, through whom they had lost 700 people in previous years. They approved of our good intentions, and established themselves, to the number of 300 cabins, near the Fort Illinois, as well Miamis as Chawanons.

M. de la Salle departed for France in the month of September, leaving me to command the fort. He met on his way the Chevalier de Bogis, whom M. de la Barre had sent with letters, ordering M. de la Salle to Quebec, who had no trouble in making the journey, as he was met with on the road. M. de la Salle wrote to me to receive M. de Bogis well, which I did. The winter passed, and on the 20th of

March, 1684, being informed that the Iroquois were about to attack us, we prepared to receive them, and dispatched a canoe to M. de la Durantaye, Governor of Missilimakinac, for assistance, in case the enemy should hold out against us a long time. The savages appeared on the 21st, and we repulsed them with loss. After six days' siege they retired with some slaves which they had made in the neighborhood, who afterwards escaped and came back to the fort.

M. de la Durantaye, with Father Daloy, a Jesuit, arrived at the Fort with about 60 Frenchmen, whom they brought to our assistance, and to inform me of the orders of M. de la Barre, to leave the place. They stated that M. de Bogis was in possession of a place belonging to M. de la Foret, who had accompanied M. de la Salle to France, and had returned by order of M. de la Salle with a lettre de cachet. M. de la Barre was directed to deliver up to M. de la Foret the lands belonging to the Sieur de la Salle, and which were occupied by others to his prejudice. He brought me news that M. de la Salle was sailing by way of the islands to find the mouth of the Mississippi, and had at court obtained a company for me.

He sent me orders to command at Fort St. Louis, as Captain of Foot, and Governor [and "Governor in the Province of Illinois" as he elsewhere says]. We took measures together, and formed a company of 20 men to maintain the fort. M. de la Foret went away in the autumn, for Fort Frontenac, and I began my journey to Illinois. Being stopped by the ice, I was obliged to halt at Montreal, where I passed the winter. When M. de la Foret arrived there in the spring, we took new measures—he returned to Frontenac, and I went on to the Illinois, where I arrived in June [1685]. M. le Chevalier de Bogis retired from his command according to the orders that I brought him from M. de la Barre.

The Miamis having seriously defeated the Illinois, it cost us 1,000 dollars to reconcile these two nations, which I did not accomplish without great trouble. In the autumn I embarked for Missilimakinac, in order to obtain news of M. de la Salle. I heard there that Monseigneur de Denonville had succeeded M. de la Barre; and by a letter which he did me the honor to write to me, he expressed his wish to see me, that we might take measures for a war against the Iroquois, and informed me that M. de la Salle was engaged in seeking the mouth of the Mississippi in the Gulf of Mexico. Upon hearing this I resolved to go in search of him with a number of Canadians, and as soon as I should have found him, to return back to execute the orders of M. de Denonville.

I embarked, therefore, for the Illinois, on St. Andrew's Day [30th of October, 1685]; but being stopped by the ice, I was obliged to leave my canoe and to proceed on by land. After going 120 leagues I arrived at the Fort of Chicaou, where M. de la Durantaye commanded; and from thence I came to Fort St. Louis, where I arrived in the middle of January, 1685 [1686]. I departed thence on the 16th of February, with 30 Frenchmen and five Illinois and Chawanons [Shawnees] for the sea, which I reached in Holy Week.

After having passed the above-named nations, I was very well received. I sent out two canoes, one towards the coast of Mexico, and the other towards Carolina, to see if they could discover anything. They each sailed about 30 leagues, but proceeded no farther for want of fresh water. They reported that where they had been the land began to rise. They brought me a porpoise and some oysters. As it would take us five months to reach the French settlements, I proposed to my men, that if they would trust to me to follow the coast as far as Manatte, that by this means we should arrive shortly at Montreal, that we should

not lose our time, because we might discover some fine country and might even take some booty on our way. Part of my men were willing to adopt my plan; but as the rest were opposed to it, I decided to return the way I came.

The tide does not rise more than two feet perpendicularly on the sea coast, and on the land is very low at the entrance of the river. We encamped in the place where M. de la Salle had erected the arms of the King. As they had been thrown down by the floods, I took them five leagues farther up, and placed them in a higher situation. I put a silver ecu in the hollow of a tree to serve as a mark of time and place. We left this place on Easter Monday. When we came opposite the Quinipissus Village, the chiefs brought me the calumet and declared the sorrow they felt at the treachery they had perpetrated against me on our first voyage. I made an alliance with them.

Forty leagues higher up, on the right, we discovered a village inland, with the inhabitants of which we also made an alliance. These are the Oumas, the bravest savages of the river. When we were at Arkansas, ten of the Frenchmen who accompanied me asked for a settlement on the River Arkansas on a seignory that M. de la Salle had given me on our first voyage. I granted the request to some of them. They remained there to build a house surrounded with stakes. The rest accompanied me to Illinois, in order to get what they wanted. I arrived there on St. John's Day [24th of June]. I made two chiefs of the Illinois embark with me in my canoe, to go and receive the orders of M. de Denonville, and we arrived at Montreal by the end of July.

I left that place at the beginning of October to return to the Illinois. I came there on the 10th of October, and I directly sent some Frenchmen to our savage allies to declare war against the Iroquois, inviting them to assemble at the Fort of Bonhomme, which they did in the month

of April, 1686 [1687]. The Sieur de la Foret was already gone in a canoe with 30 Frenchmen, and he was to wait for me at Detroit till the end of May. I gave our savages a dog feast [festin de chien]; and after having declared to them the will of the King and of the Governor, I left with 16 Frenchmen and a guide of the Miami nation.

We encamped half a league from the Fort, to wait for the savages who might wish to follow us. I left 20 Frenchmen at the Fort and the Sieur de Bellefontaine to command there during my absence. Fifty Chaganons, four Loups, and seven Miamis came to join me at night; and the next day more than 300 Illinois came, but they went back again, with the exception of 149. This did not prevent my continuing my route; and after 200 leagues of journey by land, we came, on the 19th of May, to Fort Detroit. We made some canoes of elm, and I sent one of them to Fort St. Joseph on the high ground above Detroit, 30 leagues from where we were, to give Sieur Dulud, the Commander of this fort, information of my arrival. The Sieur Beauvais de Tilly joined me, and afterwards the Sieur de la Foret, then the Sieurs de la Durantaye and Dulud. I made the French and the savages coast along the bay.

After Le Sieur Durantaye had saluted us, we returned the salute. They had with them 30 English, whom they had taken on the Lake Huron, at the place at which they had reached it. We made canoes on our journey, and coasted along Lake Erie to Niagara, where we made a fort below the portage to wait there for news. On our way we took 30 more Englishmen, who were going to Missilimakinac, commanded by Major Gregory, who was bringing back some Huron and Outawas slaves, taken by the Iroquois. Had it not been for these two moves of good luck our affairs would have turned out badly, as we were at war with the Iroquois. The English, from the great quantity of

brandy which they had with them, would have gained over our allies, and thus we should have had all the savages and the English upon us at once.

I sent the Sieur de la Foret forward to inform M. de Denonville of everything. He was at the Fort of Frontenac, and he joined us at Fort Les Sables. The large boat arrived, and brought us provisions. M. le Monseigneur sent us word by it that he expected to arrive by the 10th of July at the Marsh, which is seven leagues from Sonnontouans.

The Poutouatamis, Hourons, and Ottawas joined us there, and built some canoes. There was an Iroquois slave among them whom I proposed to have put to death for the insolent manner in which he spoke of the French. They paid no attention to my proposal. Five leagues on our march he ran away and gave information of our approach, and of the marks which our savages bore to recognize each other, which did us great harm in the ambuscade, as will be seen.

On the 10th we arrived at the Marsh of Fort Les Sables and the army from below arrived at the same time. I received orders to take possession of a certain position, which I did with my company and savages. We then set about building a fort. On the 11th I went with 50 men to reconnoitre the road, three miles from Camp. On the 12th the Fort was finished, and we set off for the village. On the 13th, half a league from the prairie [deserts], we found an ambuscade, and my company, who were the advance guard, forced it. We lost seven men of whom my lieutenant was one, and two of my own people. We were occupied for seven days in cutting down the corn of the four villages. We returned to Fort Les Sables, and left it to build a fort at Niagara.

From thence I returned to Fort St. Louis with my cousin, the Sieur Dulud, who returned to his post with 18 soldiers and some savages. Having made half the portage, which is two leagues in length, some Hurons who followed us, perceived some Iroquois, and ran to give us warning. There were only 40 of us, and as we thought the enemy strong, we agreed to fall back with our ammunition towards the fort and get a reinforcement. We marched all night, and as the Sieur Dulud could not leave his detachment, he begged me to go to the Marquis, while he lay in ambush in a very good position. I embarked, and when I came to the Fort, the Marquis was unwilling to give me any men, the more so as the militia was gone away and he had only some infantry remaining to escort him; however, he sent Captain Valiennes and 50 men to support us, who stayed at the portage whilst we crossed it. We embarked, and when clear of the land we perceived the Iroquois on the banks of the lake. We passed over, and I left the Sieur Dulud at his post at Detroit. I went on in company with the Reverend Father Crevier as far as Missilimakinac, and afterwards to Fort St. Louis in 1687.

There I found M. Cavelier, a priest, his nephew, and the Father Anastatius, a Recollet, and two men. They concealed from me the assassination of M. de la Salle; and upon their assuring me that he was on the Gulf of Mexico in good health, I received them as if they had been M. de la Salle himself, and lent them more than 700 francs [281]. M. Cavelier departed in the spring, 1687 [1688], to give an account of his voyage at court.

M. de la Foret came here in the autumn, and went away in the following spring. On the 7th of April, one named Coutoure brought to me two Akansas, who danced the calumet. They informed me of the death of M. de la Salle, with all the circumstances which they had heard from the lips of M. Cavelier, who had fortunately discovered the

house I had built at Arkansas, where the said Coutoure stayed with three Frenchmen. He told me that the fear of not obtaining from me what he desired had made him conceal the death of his brother, but that he had told them of it.

M. Cavelier told me that the Cadadoquis had proposed to accompany him if he would go and fight against the Spaniards. He had objected, on account of there being only 14 Frenchmen. They replied that their nation was numerous, that they only wanted a few musqueteers, and that the Spaniards had much money, which they [the French] should take; and as for themselves, they only wished to keep the women and children as slaves. Coutoure told me that a young man whom M. Cavelier had left at Arkansas had assured him that this was very true. I would not undertake anything without the consent of the Governor of Canada. I sent the said Coutoure to the French remaining in Nicondiche, to get all the information he could. He set off, and at 100 leagues from the Fort was wrecked, and having lost everything, returned.

In the interval M. de Denonville directed me to let the savages do as they liked, and to do nothing against the Iroquois. He at the same time informed me that war was declared against Spain. Upon this I came to the resolution of going to Naodiche, to execute what M. Cavelier had ventured to undertake, and to bring back M. de la Salle's men, who were on the sea coast not knowing of the misfortune that had befallen him. I set off on the 3d of October, and joined my cousin, who was gone on before, and who was to accompany me, as he expected that M. de la Foret would come and take the command in my absence; but as he did not come I sent my cousin back to command the Fort.

I bought a boat larger than my own. We embarked five Frenchmen, one Chaganon, and two slaves. We arrived

on the 17th at an Illinois village at the mouth of their river. They had just come from fighting the Osages, and had lost 13 men, but brought back 130 prisoners. We reached the village of the Kappas on the 16th of January, where we were received with demonstrations of joy, and for four days there was nothing but dancing, feasting, and masquerading after their manner. They danced the calumet for me, which confirmed the last alliance.

On the 20th of January we came to Tongenga, and they wished to entertain us as the Kappas had done; but being in haste I deferred it until another time. I did the same with the Torremans, on my arrival on the 22d. Leaving my crew I set off the next day for Assotoue, where my commercial house is. These savages had not yet seen me, as they lived on a branch of the river coming from the west. They did their best, giving me two women of the Cadadoquis nation, to whom I was going. I returned to Torremans on the 26th, and bought there two boats. We went away on the 27th. On the 29th, finding one of our men asleep when on duty as sentinel, I reprimanded him, and he left me. I sent two of my people to Coroa, to spare myself the fatigue of dragging on with our crew six leagues inland. The Frenchman, with whom I had quarrelled, made with them a third.

We slept opposite the rivers of the Taencas, which run from Arkansas. They came there on the 2nd, this being the place of meeting. My Chaganon went out hunting on the other side of the river, where he was attacked by three Chacoumas. He killed one of them, and was slightly wounded by an arrow on the left breast. On the 4th the rest of the party arrived. On the 5th, being opposite Taencas, the men whom I had sent to Coroa not having brought any news of the two Frenchmen whom I was anxious about, I sent them to Natches. They found that this nation had killed the two men. They retired as well as they could, making the savages

believe that we were numerous. They arrived on the 8th of February. We set off on the 12th with 12 Taencas, and after a voyage of 12 leagues to the N. W. we left our boat and made twenty leagues portage, and on the 17th of February, 1690, came to Nachitoches. They made us stay at the place which is in the midst of the three villages called Nachitoches, Ouasita and Capiche. The chiefs of the three nations assembled, and before they began to speak, the 30 Taencas who were with me got up, and leaving their arms went to the temple, to show how sincerely they wished to make a solid peace. After having taken their God to witness they asked for friendship. I made them some presents in the name of the Taencas. They remained some days in the village to traffic with salt, which these nations got from a salt lake in the neighborhood. After their departure they gave me guides to Yataches; and after ascending the river, always towards the N. W., about 30 leagues, we found 15 cabins of Natches, who received us pretty well. We arrived on the 16th of March at Yataches, about 40 leagues from thence. The three villages of Yataches, Nadas, and Choye are together. As they knew of our arrival they came three leagues to meet us with refreshments, and on joining us, we went together to their villages. The chief made many feasts for us. I gave presents to them, and asked for guides to the Cadadoquis.

They were very unwilling to give us any, as they had murdered three ambassadors about four days before, who came to their nation to make peace. However, by dint of entreaties, and assuring them that no harm would happen to their people, they granted me five men, and we got to Cadadoquis on the 28th. At the place where we were encamped we discovered the trail of men and horses. The next day some horsemen came to reconnoitre us, and after speaking to the wife of the chief whom I brought back with me, carried back the news. The next day a woman, who governed

this nation, came to visit me with the principal persons of the village. She wept over me, demanding revenge for the death of her husband, and of the husband of the woman whom I was bringing back, both of whom had been killed by the Osages. To take advantage of everything I promised that their dead should be avenged. We went together to their temple, and after the priests had invoked their God for a quarter of an hour they conducted me to the cabin of their chief. Before entering they washed my face with water, which is a ceremony among them.

During the time I was there I learnt from them that 80 leagues off were the seven Frenchmen whom M. Cavelier had left. I hoped to finish my troubles by rejoining them, but the Frenchmen who accompanied me, tired of the voyage, would go no further. They were unmanageable persons over whom I could exercise no authority in this distant country. I was obliged to give way. All that I could do was to engage one of them, with a savage, to accompany me to the village of Naovediche, where I hoped to find the seven Frenchmen. I told those who abandoned me, that to prevent the savages knowing this, it was best to say that I had sent them away to carry back the news of my arrival, so that the savages should not suspect our disunion.

The Chadadoquis are united with two other villages called Natchitoches and Nasoui, situated on the Red River. All the nations of this tribe speak the same language. Their cabins are covered with straw, and they are not united in villages, but their huts are distant one from the other. Their fields are beautiful. They fish and hunt. There is plenty of game, but few cattle [bœufs]. They wage cruel war with each other—hence their villages are but thinly populated. I never found that they did any work except making very fine bows, which they make a traffic with dis-

tant nations. The Cadadoquis possess about 30 horses, which they call "cavali" [Sp. caballo, a horse]. The men and women are tattooed in the face, and all over the body. They called this river the Red River, because, in fact it deposits a sand which makes the water as red as blood. I am not acquainted with their manners, having only seen them in passing.

I left this place on the 6th of April, directing our route southwards, with a Frenchman, a Chaganon, a little slave of mine, and five of their savages, whom they gave me as guides to Naouadiche. When I went away, I left in the hands of the wife of the chief a small box, in which I had put some ammunition. On our road we found some Naouadiches savages hunting, who assured me that the Frenchmen were staying with them. This gave me great pleasure, hoping to succeed in my object of finding them. On the 19th the Frenchman with me lost himself. I sent the savages who were with me to look for him. He came back on the 21st, and told me that, having lost our trail, he was near drowning himself in crossing a little river on a piece of timber. His bag slipped off, and thus all our powder was lost, which very much annoyed me as we were reduced to 60 pounds of ammunition.

On the 23d we slept half a league from the village and the chiefs came to visit us at night. I asked them about the Frenchmen. They told me that they had accompanied their chiefs to fight against the Spaniards seven days' journey off; that the Spaniards had surrounded them with their cavalry, and that their chiefs having spoken in their favor the Spaniards had given them horses and arms. Some of the others told me that the Quanouatins had killed three of them, and that the four others were gone in search of iron arrow heads; I did not doubt but they had murdered them. I told them that they had killed the Frenchmen. Directly all the women began to cry, and thus I saw that what I had said

was true. I would not, therefore, accept the calumet. I told the chief I wanted four horses for my return, and having given him seven hatchets and a string of large glass beads, I received the next day four Spanish horses, two of which were marked on the haunche with an R. and a crown [couronne fermee], and another with an N. Horses are very common among them. There is not a cabin which has not four or five.

As this nation is sometimes at peace and sometimes at war with the neighboring Spaniards, they take advantage of a war to carry off the horses. We harnessed ours as well as we could, and departed on the 29th, greatly vexed that we could not continue our route as far as M. de la Salle's camp. We were unable to obtain guides from this nation to take us there, though not more than 80 leagues off, besides being without ammunition, owing to the accident which I related before.

It was at the distance of three days' journey from hence that M. de la Salle was murdered. I will say a few words of what I have heard of this misfortune. M. de la Salle having landed beyond the Mississippi, on the side of Mexico, about 80 leagues from the mouth of the river, and losing his vessels on the coast, saved a part of the cargo, and began to march along the seashore, in search of the Mississippi. Meeting with many obstacles on account of the bad roads, he resolved to go to Illinois by land, and loaded several horses with his baggage. The Father Anastatius, M. Cavelier, a priest, his brother; M. Cavelier, his nephew; M. Moranget, a relative; M. M. Duhault and Lanctot, and several Frenchmen accompanied him, with a Chaganon savage.

When three days' journey from the Naoudiche, and short of provisions, he sent Moranget, his servant, and the Chaganon, to hunt in a small wood with orders

to return in the evening. When they had killed some buffaloes, they stopped to dry the meat. M. de la Salle was uneasy, and asked the Frenchmen who among them would go and look for them. Duhault and Lanctot had for a long time determined to kill M. de la Salle, because, during the journey along the seacoast, he had compelled the brother of Lanctot, who was unable to keep up, to return to camp; and who, when returning alone, was massacred by the savages. Lanctot vowed to God that he would never forgive his brother's death. As in long journeys there are always discontented persons, he easily found partisans. He offered, therefore, with them, to search for M. Moranget, in order to have an opportunity to execute their design.

Having found the men, he told them that M. de la Salle was uneasy about them; but the others showing that they could not set off till the next day, it was agreed to sleep there. After supper they arranged the order of the watch. It was to begin with M. de Moranget; after him was to follow the servant of M. de la Salle, and then the Chaganon. After they had kept their watch and were asleep, they were massacred, as persons attached to M. de la Salle. At daybreak they heard the reports of pistols, which were fired as signals by M. de la Salle, who was coming with the Father Recollect in search of them. The wretches laid in wait for him, placing M. Duhault's servant in front. When M. de la Salle came near, he asked where M. Moranget was. The servant, keeping on his hat, answered that he was behind. As M. de la Salle advanced to remind him of his duty, he received three balls in his head, and fell down dead. The Father Recollet was frightened, and, thinking that he also was to be killed, threw himself on his knees, and begged for a quarter of an hour to prepare his soul. They replied that they were willing to save his life.

They went on together to where M. Cavelier was, and, as they advanced, shouted, "Down with your arms." M. de Cavelier, on hearing the noise, came forward, and when told of the death of his brother, threw himself on his knees, making the same request that had been made by the Father Recollet. They granted him his life. He asked to go and bury the body of his brother, which was refused. Such was the end of one of the greatest men of the age. He was a man of wonderful ability, and capable of undertaking any discovery. His death much grieved the three Naoudiches whom M. de la Salle had found hunting, and who had accompanied him to the village. After the murderers had committed this crime, they seized all the baggage of the deceased, and continued their journey to the village of Naoudiches, where they found two Frenchmen who had deserted from M. de la Salle two years before, and had taken up their abode with these savages.

After staying some days in this village, the savages proposed to them to go to war against the Quanoouatinos, to which the Frenchmen agreed, lest the savages should ill-treat them. As they were ready to set off, an English buccaneer, whom M. de la Salle had always liked, begged of the murderers that, as they were going to war with the savages, they would give him and his comrades some shirts. They flatly refused, which offended him, and he could not help expressing this to his comrades. They agreed together to make a second demand, and if refused, to revenge the death of M. de la Salle. This they did some days afterwards. The Englishman, taking two pistols in his belt, accompanied by a Frenchman with his gun, went deliberately to the cabin of the murderers, whom they found were out shooting with bows and arrows.

Lanctot met them and wished them good day, and asked how they were. They answered, "Pretty well, and it was not necessary to ask how they did, as

they were always eating turkeys and good venison." Then the Englishman asked for some ammunition and shirts, as they were provided with everything. They replied that M. de la Salle was their debtor, and that what they had taken was theirs. "You will not, then?" said the Englishman. "No," replied they. On which the Englishman said to one of them, "You are a wretch; you murdered my master," and firing his pistol killed him on the spot. Duhault tried to get into his cabin, but the Frenchman shot him also with a pistol, in the loins, which threw him on the ground. M. Cavelier and Father Anastatius ran to his assistance. Duhault had hardly time to confess himself, for the father had but just given him absolution when he was finished by another pistol shot at the request of the savages, who could not endure that he should live after having killed their chief. The Englishman took possession of everything. He gave a share to Mr. Cavelier, who having found my abode in Arkansas, went from thence to Illinois. The Englishman remained at Naoudiches.

We reached Cadadoquis on the 10th of May. We stayed there to rest our horses, and went away on the 17th, with a guide who was to take us to the village of Coroas. After four days' journey he left us, in consequence of an accident which happened in crossing a marsh. As we were leading our horses by the bridle, he fancied he was pursued by an alligator, and tried to climb a tree. In his hurry he entangled the halter of my horse, which was drowned. This induced him to leave us without saying anything, lest we should punish him for the loss of the horse. We were thus left in great difficulty respecting the road which we were to take.

I forgot to say that the savages who have horses use them both for war and for hunting. They make pointed saddles, wooden stirrups, and body-coverings of several skins, one over the other, as a protection from

arrows. They arm the breast of their horses with the same material, a proof that they are not very far from the Spaniards. When our guide was gone I told the Chaganon to take the lead; all he said in answer was, that that was my business; and as I was unable to influence him, I was obliged to act as guide. I directed our course to the southeast, and after about 40 leagues' march, crossing seven rivers, we found the River Coroas. We made a raft to explore the other side of the river, but found there no dry land. We resolved to abandon our horses, as it was impossible to take them on, upon account of the great inundation. In the evening, as we were preparing to depart, we saw some savages. We called to them in vain—they ran away, and we were unable to come up with them. Two of their dogs came to us, which with two of our own, we embarked the next day on our raft, and left our horses. We crossed 50 leagues of flooded country. The water, where it was least deep, reached half way up the legs; and in all this tract we found only one little island of dry land, where we killed a bear and dried its flesh. It would be difficult to give an idea of the trouble we had to get out of this miserable country, where it rained night and day. We were obliged to sleep on the trunks of two great trees, placed together, and to make our fires on the trees, to eat our dogs, and to carry our baggage across large tracts covered with reeds; in short, I never suffered so much in my life as in this journey to the Mississippi, which we reached on the 11th of July.

Finding where we were, and that we were only 30 leagues from Coroas, we resolved to go there, although we had never set foot in that village. We arrived there on the evening of the 14th. We had not eaten for three days, as we could find no animal, on account of the great flood. I found two of the Frenchmen who had abandoned me, at this village. The savages received me very

well, and sympathized with us in the sufferings we had undergone. During three days they did not cease feasting us, sending men out hunting every day, and not sparing their turkeys. I left them on the 20th, and reached Arkansas on the 31st, where I caught the fever, which obliged me to stay there till the 11th of August, when I left. The fever lasted until we got to the Illinois in September.

I cannot describe the beauty of all the countries I have mentioned. If I had had a better knowledge of them, I should be better able to say what special advantages might be derived from them. As for the Mississippi, it could produce every year 20,000 ecu's worth of peltries, an abundance of lead, and wood for ship-building. A silk trade might be established there, and a port for the protection of vessels and the maintenance of a communication with the Gulf of Mexico. Pearls might be found there. If wheat will not grow at the lower part of the river, the upper country would furnish it; and the islands might be supplied with everything they need, such as planks, vegetables, grain, and salt beef. If I had not been hurried in making this narrative, I should have stated many circumstances which would have gratified the reader, but the loss of my notes during my travels is the reason why this relation is not such as I could have wished. HENRY DE TONTY.

THE AUBRY MANUSCRIPT.

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

THE original document herewith translated was obtained by the Editor, from Paris, France. It was written from Fort Chartres, of the Illinois, late in 1758, by Charles Phillipe Aubry, an officer in the French service in Louisiana and Illinois. He built Fort Massiac in 1757, which he called Fort Ascension, but which in the following year was named Fort Massiac in honor of M. de Massiac, Minister of the French Marine and Colonies at the time. Besides this he led the sortie of September 14, 1758, at Fort Du Quesne against the British and colonial forces in the fight known as "Grant's defeat." Here he utterly routed James Grant, major of the 62d or Highland regiment. Grant, seriously hurt, was taken prisoner, while his killed and wounded, mostly Highlanders, were nearly 300 in number.

The next year he conducted 300 soldiers and militia from the Illinois, and some 600 Indians collected on his way, toward Niagara. He had with him 200,000 pounds of flour and other provisions. His route with all these was in bateaux and canoes down the Mississippi, up the Wabash to the Miamis portage, near the present Ft. Wayne, Indiana, where the low stage of water and the necessity of hastening forced him to leave his supplies, thence down the Maumee and south shore of Lake Erie. Soon after, in his effort to raise the siege of Fort Niagara, he was captured by Sir William Johnson. Released the next year, 1760, he returned to New Orleans where as major he commanded four companies of French.

He was the successor of M. d'Abadie d'St. Germaine, since February 4, 1765, as governor of so much of the

Louisiana that still remained to France after the treaty of peace with Great Britain. And in March of the next year he turned the colony over to the Spanish Governor Don Antonio Ulloa. By courtesy he was retained in the office until the arrival of the military forces of Spain, and when Ulloa was dismissed, Aubry continued on, until finally relieved in 1769 by Don Alexander O'Reilly, the latter Spanish governor. Soon after Aubry left Louisiana for France, and when near Bordeaux his vessel went down in a storm and he, with all others aboard except four survivors, were lost at sea.*

The Aubry manuscript, now for the first time translated and printed, is as yet the only known document that officially tells why and when Fort Massiac was built. It will require a great change in our notions as to the history of that military structure. It is as follows:

Account of the Services of Mr. Aubry.

Captain of Infantry in the Army of the King in Louisiana.

MR. AUBRY entered the service of the King in the Lyonnaise regiment in 1740. [The Marquis of Beaupreau was then colonel]. He then served for eight campaigns. He made himself loved and esteemed by all the officers of the regiment, and he proved on several occasions that his zeal for the service of the King was accompanied by the necessary qualities to enable him to acquit himself with distinction. At the time of the last peace he was one of the rising first lieutenants of the company and was included among those discharged. Count d'Argenson, in

* The above sketch of Aubry is collated from Gayerre's "Historic Louisiana." "Annals of the West," by Albach, edition of 1858. Craig's "Olden Time." Pittsburgh 1848, M. Ponchot's "Memoir upon the Late War in North America between the French and English, 1755-1760;" translated by Franklin B. Hough, and the correspondence of other French officials in Manuscripts at Paris.—H. W. B.

accordance with the favorable testimony which was given him of Mr. Aubry, gave him the brevet of Captain in the King's army in Louisiana. He left France under orders to conduct one hundred and thirty recruits to New Orleans.

After a most perilous voyage he arrived safe in Louisiana with all the soldiers who had been entrusted to his command.

The manner in which he conducted himself in the colony merited for him the esteem and friendship of Mr. de Vandreul, who was then governor. Mr. de Ruerlord, who succeeded Mr. de Vandreuil, honored Mr. Aubry with the same sentiments. The important operations with which he entrusted him during the last years were a proof of the confidence which he reposed in the conduct and valor of this officer.

In the course of the year 1756, Mr. de Ruerlord confided to Mr. Aubry the command of a large expedition which was to go from New Orleans to Illinois. Mr. Aubry departed the 20th of July, 1756, with one hundred and fifty men and a dozen boats. He arrived at his destination the 20th of November after having experienced in this journey of five hundred leagues all the fatigues and perils which it is possible to imagine.

Mr. Aubry remained in Illinois from the 28th of November, 1756, till the 1st of May, 1757.

Mr. de Macarty, commander for the King, then received certain news that the English, who had large settlements up the Keraquis [Cherokee, it being the present Tennessee] river, were preparing to come down to enter the Belle [Ohio] Riviere, and from there into the Mississippi, with the design of corrupting the fidelity of the savages and afterwards taking possession of all the points which we occupied on the upper Mississippi.

To oppose these projects, the success of which could only be fatal to the colony of Louisiana, Mr. de Macarty [com-

mandant of the Illinois] ordered Mr. Aubry to depart speedily with one hundred and fifty Frenchmen, one hundred savages and three pieces of cannon to establish a fort on the Belle Riviere as near as possible to the Keraquis river.

In consequence of these orders Mr. Aubry departed the 10th of May, 1757, and after having travelled over a large extent of country without meeting a single Englishman* he built a fort conformably to the instructions of Mr. de Macarty, in a place which, by its position and elevation put the French in a position to oppose the attacks of the enemy more easily.

This fort was constructed with so much diligence that on the 20th of June [1757] it was completed, the doors closed and the cannon placed on the bastions. The fort was named the Fort of the Ascension, on account of its being on that day that the first stake was driven.

As soon as this was finished, Mr. Aubry having left there a captain, a lieutenant, an ensign and a garrison sufficient to defend it, departed with forty Frenchmen and as many savages to go along the Keraquis [early known as Cherokee river, and now as the Tennessee river] river to reconnoitre, [or discover the English].

He had penetrated about 120 leagues into the country which was more than any French detachment had dared to do. The savages who had accompanied Mr. Aubry had abandoned him, and he had travelled over sixty leagues with the forty Frenchmen, only.

He received from an English prisoner [an American colonist] whom he had taken during the journey, news of designs of the English, and as he was not imprudent enough to further entangle himself and forty men in a

* He went overland the old route from Fort Chartres to Kaskaskia, and thence on to the Ohio by a route later known as the old Fort Massac road.—H. W. B.

country where the enemy had collected forces far superior to his, he took his departure and returned to the Fort of the Ascension.

Having found all in good order there, he started on July 22d, to return to Illinois to give an account to Mr. de Macarty of the operations of his campaign.

He arrived at the post of Illinois the 6th of August, from whence he again departed the 1st of September to return to the Fort of the Ascension. Above two months afterward he was attacked by a large detachment of Keraquis [very ferocious savages] but he had the advantage of repulsing them and putting them totally to flight.

All had been very quiet since the dispersion of the Keraquis when Mr. Aubry received from Mr. de Macarty new orders which obliged him to leave the Fort of the Ascension. He was charged with the command of a large convoy laden with provisions for Fort Du Quesne, a dependant of Canada, five hundred leagues distant from Illinois, and one thousand leagues from New Orleans.

Mr. Aubry returned to the Illinois post whence he could not depart till March 10, 1758, owing to the fact that the seventeen large boats, of which his fleet was composed, could not be ready and laden before that time.

He arrived with all his escort at Fort Du Quesne after having encountered innumerable fatigues and perils. He was at this post when he heard that a detachment of nine hundred Englishmen was approaching the fort to molest it.

Mr. Aubry went out with four hundred Frenchmen, and attacked the enemy with so much impetuosity that they were completely routed and left three hundred men on the field; two hundred were taken prisoners and the rest were cut in pieces by the savages, who had not dared

to appear during the combat, but who pursued the fugitives when the victory was decided.

This signal advantage of the 28th of April, 1759, of which the Gazette of France has made mention [gave a respite during which we] razed Fort Duquesne to the ground befor the arrival of an army of ten thousand English, bringing artillery.* Mr. Aubry returned to the post of Illinois where he is at present.

* By General John Forbes.

Gen. George Rogers Clark.

GENERAL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK'S CONQUEST OF THE ILLINOIS.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE fuller story of George Rogers Clark's campaigns of 1778-9 and 1780, whereby he gained for the Colony of Virginia a domain later known as "The Territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio," and now as the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, is made up from several sources.

Among these are his letter to George Mason of Virginia, the diary or journal of Major Joseph Bowman, the letters of instruction from Patrick Henry, Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, to Colonel Clark, the one for the public eye, while the other, which contained the real purpose of the venture, was strictly "private."*

A lengthy "Memoir" written later by Clark "at the request," as alleged, "of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison."† Then there are the Laws, Resolutions and State papers of Virginia, the Acts, etc., of the Continental Congress, the American Archives, the early acts and prints of Pennsylvania in this connection.

* These documents, with an introductory by the late Hon. Henry Pirtle, of Louisville, were published by Robert Clarke & Co., of Cincinnati, 1869.

† It appears entire for the first time in the late work of William Hayden English, President of the Indiana Historical Society, and published by the Bowen-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1896.

Besides these sources there is other correspondence between Governors Henry and Jefferson, and Clark, together with his letters to or from his officers or friends, which were captured by the enemy.*

These papers are a headlight, thrown, not only on Clark's Illinois campaign, but in their stronger glare on the real cause of the Indian forays on our borders that led Clark on, to plan and make the venture. That depository gives the other or British side of the story. It officially shows that the people of Detroit, or others subject to that trades post, from their provincial Governor down to the lowest mixture of French or other white and Indian blood, with few exceptions, held a bitter and active hatred toward their neighboring colonies.

At this time the chief commerce of the northwest was with the Indians, and traders in the interest of Detroit were a busy factor among the savages of the Rivers Ohio, Maumee, Wabash, St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, and in the Illinois.

Besides this the mother country held the gateways at Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie by which her subjects enjoyed the traffic and swayed the savages of the entire easterly side of the upper Mississippi. They, too, were as jealous of their monopoly as the traders of the Illinois, Maumee or Wabash, and as ready to use any means at hand to repel all danger of its loss.

This was the source of the Indian raids and rapine on our borders. In this cruel work the trades interest was backed by Upper Canada, and Canada was inspired by the then governing power of Great Britain. The latter was nearer his arm and unguarded. And here he chose first to strike.

* Copies of these last are in "The Canadian Archives." Our neighboring Dominion has collected a rare deposit of original matter relating to all parts of North America, that was first explored, or settled either by the French, or those who spoke our common English tongue.

To call his campaign which followed a "conquest of the Illinois," is, in a sense, apt to mislead one. In the outset and earlier stage it was carried on, not to acquire more territory but to stop the Indian ravages on the settlers of a country, especially Kentucky, of which we were already possessed. True, though unforseen at the time, the gain of the great northwest was the final outcome.

Another error is, that popular opinion lays those ravages of the Indians wholly to them. They were more the cruel instruments of the British power; and Lieut. Governor Hamilton at Detroit had much trouble to hold them to their bloody work. Those of Northern Ohio, the Maumee, Wabash, St. Joseph and Illinois grew indifferent to a contest in which they had nothing to gain, while it invited the burning of their villages and the lives of their own women and children.

To arrest this defection, so Haldimand writes to Sackville, that the continued service of "the Indians must be secured at any expense;" and refers to "the necessity of providing supplies for the Indians for the next campaign," &c.*

Again, the borderfolk, their ways beyond the pale of a fixed social life, and for this reason self dependent, their Block house stations for security or defense against prowling savages or the incursions of larger war parties, need to be kept in mind. These features are well treated by the late Judge John B. Dillon in his "Historical Notes of the Northwest," etc., published some sixty years ago.

To illustrate, in the foreshadow of the revolutionary war, we find that Lord George Sackville, the British colonial secretary, writes Sir Guy Carleton, Governor at Quebec, that "it was His Majesty's resolution that the most vigorous efforts should be made, and every means em-

* Haldimand to Sackville, July 25, 1777. Same to Same, Sept. 20, 1777. Canadian Archives.

ployed that Providence has put into His Majesty's hands for crushing the rebellion and restoring the constitution. It is [therefore] the King's command that you direct Lieut. Governor Hamilton of [Detroit] to assemble as many of the Indians of his district as he conveniently can, and placing a proper person at their head to conduct their [war] parties and restrain them from committing violence on the well-affected, inoffensive inhabitants; employ them in making a diversion and exciting alarm on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania." etc.*

Detroit and its dependent traders were all too eager to obey. And in advices of their work which reached Lord Sackville on the other side of the Atlantic, tell, as my Lord says, "of Hamilton's success [over Gen. Clark at Vincennes] in the Illinois country." That "the Indians were scouring the Ohio and Wabash country." That "the rebels of Virginia and Pennsylvania had deserted their posts," etc.†

Why skirmish longer on the edges of a crisis, thought Clark, when he might end it with a knock down blow at the Illinois and Detroit?

These last, with those set out above by the editor here, are so many high lights to bring out in sharper relief the grand conception of General Clark in his bold attack on Kaskaskia and his daring march across Illinois and capture of Lieut. Governor Hamilton at Post Vincennes.

The Editor produces here much of Judge Dillon's work that relates to Clark's campaigns, and has added or worked into it matter that is drawn from other sources. The iden-

* Sackville to Carleton, March 26, 1776. Letter in Canadian Archives. Sackville served until after the revolutionary war, and was against all plans to end it sooner.—H. W. B.

† Sackville's letter of July 8, 1779, to General Fred Haldimand. Canadian Archives. Haldimand succeeded Sir Guy Carleton as Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Quebec in 1778.—H. W. B.

tity of the one from the other is shown in the accompanying foot notes or wording in the text.

So much said, and we proceed with Clark's Campaigns in the Illinois, as follows:

In the course of the years 1775 and 1776, by means of the operations of Land Companies, and the perseverance of individual adventurers, several hundred settlers were added to the white population of the country lying between the Alleghany mountains and the river Ohio. In the meantime the English colonies in North America, acting wisely and justly in this instance, renounced their allegiance to Great Britain. and declared that they were "and of right ought to be, free and independent States."

By the authority of the Continental Congress, commissioners were appointed to reside at Fort Pitt for the purpose of making treaties with the Indians in that region;* and messengers were sent with pacific overtures from the new government to the southern and the northwestern tribes. To defeat the object of this policy, the British commandants and the loyal British traders in the country northwest of the Ohio, encouraged and supported by a considerable number of French auxiliaries, incited the Indians to assail the frontiers of the confederated States.

From the speeches of two distinguished Delaware chiefs, Buckongahelas and White Eyes,† an inference may be drawn concerning the nature of the appeals which, about this time, were made to the Indians. Buckongahelas, who was the friend of the king of Great Britain, spoke to the Indians thus: "Friends! Listen to what I say to you! You see a great and powerful nation divided! You see the father fighting against the son, and the son against the

* General George Rogers Clark, Arthur Lee, and Col. Richard Butler. —H. W. B.

† "Bu-kon-ge-he-la," or "Puck-on-che-luh," meaning "one who does all he undertakes," and "Wi-co-cal-lnd," or Captain "White Eyes."—H. W. B.

father! The father has called on his Indian children, to assist him in punishing his children, the Americans, who have become refractory. I took time to consider what I should do; whether or not I should receive the hatchet of my father to assist him. At first I looked upon it as a family quarrel, in which I was not interested. However, at length, it appeared to me that the father was in the right; and his children deserved to be punished a little. That this must be the case, I concluded from the many cruel acts his offspring had committed from time to time on his Indian children, in encroaching on their land, stealing their property, shooting at, and murdering, without cause, men, women, and children. Yes! even murdering those, who at all times had been friendly to them, and were placed for protection under the roof of their father's house—the father himself standing sentry at the door at the time.* Friends! often has the father been obliged to settle, and make amends for the wrongs and mischiefs done to us by his refractory children; yet these do not grow better. No; they remain the same; and will continue to be so, as long as we have any land left us. Look back at the murders committed by the Long-knives on many of our relations, who lived peaceable neighbors to them on the Ohio. Did they not kill them without the least provocation? Are they, do you think, better now than they were then?"

Note by the Editor: [Bu-kon-ge-he-la was a great war chief of the Delawares, and until the final defeat of the Northwestern Indians, August 20, 1794, at the battle of "The Fallen Timbers," near the present South Toledo, Ohio, had been an active and cruel foe to the United States. In that fight the British did not come from their Fort Miamis near by as they had

* Alluding to the murder of the Conestoga Indians.—See Gordon's His., p. 405. Note by Dillon.

agreed, to aid the savages. After this treachery Buckongahelas would have nothing to do with, or even take a present form the British who had all along egged the Indians on.

He had a high regard for General Clark but was not in accord with his nation, and though present at, he took no part in the treaty of Fort McIntosh, now Beaver, in western Pennsylvania. Here he did not notice the other commissioners, Lee and Butler. He went proudly by them, took General Clark by the hand and said, "I thank the Great Spirit for having this day brought together two such great warriors as you and me." His word on his deathbed in 1805, to his tribe, was for "them to rely on the friendship of the United States and never listen to the British who had been the cause of all their misfortunes." H. W. B.]

At this period a Delaware chief, whose Indian name was Koguethagechton, but who was called by the Americans, Captain White Eyes, lived in the valley of the river Muskingum. In the course of his efforts to explain the causes which produced the Revolutionary war, and to establish relations of friendship between his tribe and the United States, he sometimes addressed the Delawares in substance, as follows:

"Suppose a father had a little son whom he loved and indulged while young, but growing up to be a youth, began to think of having some help from him; and making up a small pack, bade him carry it for him. The boy cheerfully takes the pack, following his father with it. The father, finding the boy willing and obedient, continues in his way; and as the boy grows stronger, so the father makes the pack in proportion larger; yet as long as the boy is able to carry the pack, he does so without grumbling. At length, however, the boy having arrived at manhood,—while

the father is making up the pack for him,—in comes a person of an evil disposition, and learning who was the carrier of the pack, advises father to make it heavier, for surely the son is able to carry a large pack. The father listening rather to the bad adviser, than consulting his own judgment and the feelings of tenderness, follows the advice of the hard-hearted adviser, and makes up a heavy load for his son to carry.

"The son, now grown up, examining the weight of the load he is to carry, addresses the parent in these words: "Dear father, this pack is too heavy for me to carry; do pray lighten it; I am willing to do what I can; but I am unable to carry this load." The father's heart having by this time become hardened, and the bad adviser calling to him, "whip him, if he disobeys and refuses to carry the pack," now in a peremptory tone, orders his son to take up the pack and carry it off, or he will whip him, and already takes up a stick to beat him.

"So!" says the son, "am I to be served thus, for not doing what I am unable to do! Well, if entreaties avail nothing with you, father—and it is to be decided by blows whether or not I am able to carry a pack so heavy—then I have no other choice left me, but that of resisting your unreasonable demand, by my strength; and so, striking each other, we may see who is strongest." [Heckewelder]. The speeches which were delivered by Buckongahelas and others, in favor of the King of Great Britain, were prepared by officers in the British Indian department; and the reported speech of Captain White Eyes, in favor of the American colonies, was prepared by a committee of the Continental Congress, adopted by that body on the 13th of July, 1775, and delivered to an assemblage of Indians at Pittsburgh, in the fall of the same year.*

* Vide.—Amr. Archives, 4th series, vol. 2, pp. 1880-1881. Note by Dillon.

Captain White Eyes and his followers were always friendly to the Americans. The Reverend John Heckewelder, a Moravian Missionary, long among the Leni-lenape or Delaware Indians, gives the aboriginal name of White Eyes as "Ko-gue-tha-gecht-on." This good and learned man [Heckewelder] was of German descent, and his alphabet and spelling when rendering Indian or geographical names does not have the same sound or power as when used by our tongue.* However be this, there is no doubt at all as to the identity of Captain White Eyes in both instances.

The Missionary and this chief for many years were bosom friends and comrades of the forest. Heckewelder made a journey through the wilds from the Mission on the Muskingum to Pittsburgh when the "tribes" on the British side during the Revolutionary war spread murder and devastation over our unprotected frontier. White Eyes would not allow him to go without an escort and went "himself at his [Heckewelder's] side." Seeing some suspicious signs on the way White Eyes, riding in front, asked the Missionary "if he felt afraid?" "No, while you are with me I have no fears." White Eyes replied, "You are right, for until I am laid at your feet no one shall hurt you." "And not even then," added young Captain Wingenund, who was riding at the rear; "before this happens I must be also overcome and laid by the side of our friend Koguethugechton."—H. W. B.

At the treaty of Fort McIntosh, referred to, it was agreed in a separate article that "Captain White Eyes" and his followers who took up the hatchet for the United States and their families, should be received into the Delaware

* He says so himself. The name of White Eyes given in the text as "Wi-co-ca-lins," is as it was spelled at the treaty of Fort McIntosh, where Joseph Nicholas, using the King's English, was the interpreter. The name as written by Heckewelder may more nearly present the aboriginal sound, did we but know how he would have pronounced it. —H. W. B.

Nation in the same situation and rank as before the war, and enjoy their portions of the lands given [by such treaty] to the Delaware nation as fully as if they had not taken part with America, etc.—H. W. B.

Besides the peace commissioners named, the Continental Congress appointed and sent to Pittsburgh, Colonel George Morgan, of Princeton, New Jersey, as agent to the Western Indians. This kindly and benevolent man so won upon them that the Delawares conferred on him the name of "Tam-a-nend" in honor and remembrance of their ancient chief, and as the greatest mark of respect which they could show the agent, who they said, "had the same honesty, address, wisdom, affability and meekness as their honored chief, and therefore ought to be named after him."*

During the war for independence his admirers dubbed him by the name of "St. Tammany" the "Patron Saint of America." Lodges of votaries were formed at Philadelphia and elsewhere, of which many eminent patriots were members. They had their "council wigwams," their presiding officers were "Sagamores," their treasurer was "Keeper of the wampum belt," their meetings were "the kindling of the council fire." Trigged out in Indian costume they had their annual parades and dances. The society under the name of Tammany, was wholly non-political, and it and its truly American festivals survived for several years the war of the revolution.

On its ruins, adopting its name and ceremonial forms, it remained for the spoilsmen of New York to build "a machine" that looks as if it would wreck any other government than our own. Some of its leaders fled the country, and others of them, seemingly above the reach of the law, have lavished their booty abroad.

* Heckewelder.—H. W. B.

The society in its earlier purity might well be reviewed by those who would keep what the heroic Fathers of our liberty strove so hard to gain. H. W. B.*

Soon after the Declaration of American Independence, the British Lieutenant Governor at Detroit, [Sir Henry Hamilton] sent messages and proclamations to the Indian villages and the French trading posts in the country northwest of the river Ohio, for the purpose of inciting the inhabitants of that region to wage a sanguinary war against the settlers on the western frontiers of the United States. The British Lieutenant Governor gave standing rewards for scalps, but he seldom offered rewards for prisoners. The Continental Congress adopted a less sanguinary policy, and offered rewards for prisoners, but none for scalps.†

In the month of May, 1777, on the appearance of a proclamation issued by the Commandant Edward Abbott, [Lieutenant Governor] a number of the inhabitants of Post Vincennes took the oath of fidelity to the government of Great Britain. The form of this oath, as it was prescribed by an act of the British Parliament, was as follows:

"I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his majesty, King George, and him defend to the utmost of my power, against all traitorous conspiracies, and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his person, crown and dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavors to disclose and make known

* The above historical data on our continental Indian affairs is scrapped and woven in by the editor here, from the Acts of Congress, and Commonwealths of Virginia and Pennsylvania; the volumes of Loskiel, Heckewelder and Zeisberger of the Moravian Mission, who personally knew whereof they wrote; the treaties between the United States and the several Indian Tribes, from 1778 to 1837, the memoirs of President William H. Harrison, earlier governor of the Indiana Territory, who personally knew both Gen. Clark and Bu-con-ge-he-la, and the current newspapers of the day as to the modern "Tammany."

† Proceedings of Council of Virginia, June 18, 1779. Secret Jour. Congress, 1, 46. By Dillon.

to his majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies and attempts, which I shall know to be against him or any of them; and all this I do swear, without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation; and renouncing all pardons and dispensations from any power or person whomsoever, to the contrary. So help me God."*

In the summer of 1777, small war parties from the northwestern tribes, roused by the effects of the British policy, jealous of the loss of their favorite hunting grounds, and enraged at the massacre of a distinguished Shawnee chief, [Corn-stock, or corn stalk] began to assail the settlements and forts which had been established by the whites on the southeastern borders of the river Ohio.

In the western parts of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky, at this era, a fort was not only a place of defence; it was the residence of a small number of families belonging to the same neighborhood; and it consisted of cabins, block-houses, and stockades. "A range of cabins commonly formed one side at least of the fort. Divisions, or partitions of logs, separated the cabins from each other. The walls on the outside were ten or twelve feet high; the slope of the roof being turned wholly inward. A very few of these cabins had puncheon floors; the greater part were earthen. The block-houses were built at the angles of the fort. They projected about two feet beyond the outer walls of the cabins and stockades. Their upper stories were about eighteen inches every way larger in dimension than the under one—leaving an opening at the commencement of the second story to prevent the enemy from making a lodgment under their walls.

"In some forts, instead of block-houses the angles of the fort were furnished with bastions. A large folding gate,

* Dillon.

made of thick slabs, nearest the spring, closed the fort. The stockades, bastions, cabins, and block-house walls, were furnished with port holes at proper heights and distances. The whole of the outside was made completely bullet-proof." In many instances these forts were made without the aid of a single nail or spike of iron, because such things were not to be had. In some places, less exposed, a single block-house, with a cabin or two, constituted the whole fort.*

From 1777 to 1784, the rude fortifications of the western settlers were seldom attacked boldly by strong Indian war parties. A credible actor† among the adventurous class of men who first settled in Kentucky, thus described the Indian mode of making war:

"The Indians in besieging a place are seldom seen in force upon any quarter, but dispersed, and acting individually, or in small parties. They conceal themselves in the bushes or weeds, or behind trees or stumps of trees; or waylay the path, or fields, or other places where their enemies resort; and when one or more can be taken down, in their opinion, they fire the gun, or let fly the arrow, aimed at the mark. If necessary they retreat; if they dare, they advance upon their killed or crippled adversary; and take his scalp, or make him prisoner, if possible.

"They aim to cut off the garrison supplies, by killing the cattle; and they watch the watering places, for those who go for that article of primary necessity; that they may by these means reduce the place to their possession, or destroy its inhabitants in detail. In the night they will place themselves near the fort gate ready to sacrifice the first person who shall appear in the morning. In the day, if there be any cover—such as grass, a bush, a large clod of earth, or a stone as big as a bushel—they will avail themselves

* Dillon quoting Doddridge, 117.
† Col. J. Floyd.—Butler's History of Kentucky, 33. By Dillon.

of it to approach the fort, by slipping forward on their bellies, within gunshot; and then, whoever appears first, gets the fire; while the assailant makes his retreat behind the smoke from the gun.

"At other times they approach the walls or palisades with the utmost audacity, and attempt to fire them or to beat down the gate. They often make feints to draw out the garrison on one side of the fort, and if practicable enter it by surprise on the other. And when their stock of provision is exhausted, this being an individual affair, they supply themselves by hunting; and again frequently return to the siege, if by any means they hope to get a scalp.

"Such was the enemy who infested Kentucky, and with whom the early adventurers had to contend. In the combat they were brave; in defeat they were dextrous; in victory they were cruel. Neither sex, nor age, nor the prisoner were exempted from their tomahawk or scalping knife. They saw their perpetual enemy taking possession of their hunting ground; to them the source of amusement, of supply, and of traffic, and they were determined to dispute it to the utmost of their means.

"In the most difficult times the Indians were obliged to retire into the woods; sometimes in pursuit of game; sometimes as to a place of safety; and generally by night, they withdrew to encamp at a distance. In these intervals the white men would plough their corn, or gather their crop, or get up their cattle, or hunt the deer, the bear, and buffalo, for their own food."*

In the summer of the year 1778, Colonel George Rogers Clark, a native of Albemarle county in Virginia, led a memorable expedition against the ancient French settlements about Kaskaskia and Post Vincennes. With respect

* From Dillon.—H. W. B.

to the magnitude of its design, the valor and perseverance with which it was carried on, and the momentous results which were produced by it, this expedition stands without a parallel in the annals of the valley of the Mississippi. The particulars* of the most interesting events that occurred in the progress of this remarkable enterprise, are here related in the plain style of [Clark] the commander of the expedition.

"It was at this period,"[1775], says Clark, in his memoir, "that I first had thoughts of paying some attention to the interests of this country.† The proprietors, Henderson and Company, took great pains to ingratiate themselves in the favor of the people; but, too soon for their interest, they began to raise on their lands, which caused many to complain. A few gentlemen made some attempts to persuade the people to pay no attention to them. I, [Clark] plainly saw that they would work their own ruin; as the greatest security they had for the country would be that of making it the interest of the people to support their claim. * * * I left the country in the fall of 1775, and returned in the spring following. While in Virginia I found there were various opinions respecting Henderson and Company's claim. Many thought it was good; others doubted whether or not Virginia could, with propriety, have any pretensions to the country. This was what I wanted to know.

"I immediately fixed on my plans; namely, that of assembling the people; getting them to elect deputies; and sending them to treat with the Assembly of Virginia, respecting the condition of the country. If valuable conditions were procured, we could declare ourselves citizens of the state;

* Extracted from the MS. "Memoirs of Gen. George Rogers Clark. written by himself at the united desire of Presidents Jefferson and Madison." Dillon. At the time, 1843, when Dillon published, all of Clark's writings were in manuscript.—H. W. B.

† Kentucky. Dillon.

otherwise we might establish an Independent Government; and, by giving away a great part of the lands, and disposing of the remainder we would not only gain great numbers of inhabitants, but in a good measure protect them.

"To carry this scheme into effect I appointed a general meeting at Harrodstown, on the 6th of June 1776, and stated that something would be proposed to the people that very much concerned their interest. The reason I had for not publishing what I wished to be done, before the day, was that the people should not get into parties on the subject; and as every one would wish to know what was to be done , there would be a more general meeting. But, unfortunately, it was late in the evening of that day before I could get to the place. The people had been in some confusion; but at last concluded that the whole design was to send delegates to the Assembly of Virginia, with a petition praying the Assembly to accept them as such; to establish a new country, etc.

"The polls were opened, and before I had arrived, they had far advanced in the election, and had entered with such spirit into it, that I could not get them to change the principle, that of Delegates with petitions, to that of Deputies under the authority of the people. In short, I did not take much pains. Mr. Gabriel Jones and myself were elected; the papers were prepared; and in a few days we set out for Williamsburgh, in the hope of arriving before the Assembly, then sitting, should rise. * * *

"We proceeded on our journey as far as Botetourt county, and there learned that we were too late; for the Assembly had already risen. We were now at a loss, for some time, to determine what to do; but concluded that we would wait until the fall session. In the meantime I should go to Williamsburgh, and attempt to procure some powder for the Kentuckians, and watch their interests. We parted. Mr. Jones returned to Holston, to join the forces that were

Negative by H. W. Beckwith

Powder magazine at Williamsburg, Va., from which Clark was supplied with powder on his first visit.

raising in order to repel the Cherokee Indians, [as they had lately commenced hostilities,] and I myself proceeded to the Governor of Virginia.

"Mr. Henry, the Governor, lay sick at his seat in Hanover, where I waited on him, and produced my vouchers. He appeared much disposed to favor the Kentuckians, and wrote by me to the council, on the subject. I attended them. My application was for five hundred pounds of powder, to be conveyed to Kentucky, as an immediate supply. After various questions and consultations, the council agreed to furnish the supply; but as we were a detached people, and not yet united to the state of Virginia, and uncertain, until the sitting of the Assembly, whether we should be, they would only lend us the ammunition as friends in distress; but that I must become answerable for it, in case the Assembly should not receive us as citizens of the state.

"I informed them that it was out of my power to pay the expense of carriage and guards necessary for those supplies—that the British officers on our frontiers were making use of every effort to engage the Indians in the war—that the people might be destroyed for the want of this small supply—and that I was in hopes they would consider these matters, and favor us by sending the ammunition at public expense.

"They replied that they were really disposed to do everything for us in their power, consistent with their office—which I believed. After making use of many arguments to convince me that even what they proposed was a stretch of power, they informed me that "they could venture no farther." An order was issued to the keeper of the magazine to deliver me the ammunition.

"I had for twelve months past reflected so much on the various situations of things, respecting ourselves and the

continent at large, that my resolution was formed before I left the Council Chamber. I resolved to return the order I had received, and immediately repair to Kentucky, knowing that the people would readily fall into my first plan; as what had passed had almost reduced it to a certainty of success. I wrote to the Council, and enclosed the order, informing them that I had weighed the matter, and found that it was out of my power to convey those stores at my own expense, such a distance through an enemy's country—that I was sorry to find we should have to seek protection elsewhere, which I did not doubt of getting—that if a country was not worth protecting, it was not worth claiming, etc.

"What passed on the reception of this letter, I cannot tell. It was, I suppose, nothing more than what might be expected by a set of gentlemen zealous in the welfare of their country, and fully apprised of what they might expect to take place in Kentucky. I was sent for. Being a little prejudiced in favor of my mother country, I was willing to meet half way. Orders were immediately issued, dated Aug. 23, 1776, for conveying those stores to Pittsburgh, and there to await further orders from me.

"Things being amicably settled, I wrote to Kentucky, giving information of what I had done; and recommended them to send to Pittsburgh, and convey the ammunition by water to their own country. This they never received. I waited until the fall session, when I was joined by my colleague, Mr. Jones. We laid our papers before the Assembly. They resolved that we could not take our seats as members; but that our business should be attended to.

"Colonel Henderson, one of the purchasers of the Cherokees, being present, retarded our business. Colonel Arthur Campbell, one of the members, being also opposed to our having a new county, wished us annexed to the county on the frontiers of which we lay, and which he

represented. This caused it to be late in the session before we got a complete establishment of a county by the name of Kentucky. * * *

"The commandants of the different towns of the Illinois and Wabash, I knew were busily engaged in exciting the Indians. Their reduction became my first object; expecting, probably, that it might open a field for further action. I sent two young men* to those places [in the summer of 1777] as spies, with proper instructions for their conduct, to prevent suspicion. Neither did they, nor any one in Kentucky ever know my design until it was ripe for execution. They returned to Harrodstown with all the information I could reasonably have expected.

[These young hunters were also with the company of thirty men, who, under the command of Captain James Harrod, brought the gunpowder which Clark procured, to be sent by the authorities from Williamsburgh to Pittsburgh, and thence conveyed by Captain Harrod's party through the forest to Harrodstown.—H. W. B.]

"I found from them that they had but little expectation of a visit from us; but that things were kept in good order, the militia trained, etc., that they might, in case of a visit be prepared—that the greatest pains were taken to influence the minds of the French inhabitants against the Americans, notwithstanding they could discover traces of affection in some of the inhabitants—that the Indians in that quarter were engaged in the war, &c.

"When I left Kentucky, October 1st, 1777, I plainly saw that every eye was turned towards me, as if expecting some stroke in their favor. Some doubted my return, expecting I would join the army in Virginia. I left them with reluctance, promising them that I would certainly return to their assistance, which I had predetermined. On my arrival at Williamsburgh, I remained a considerable

* Benjamin Linn and Samuel Moore.

time, settling the accounts of the Kentucky militia, and making remarks of every thing I saw or heard, that could lead me to the knowledge of the disposition of those in power.

"Burgoyne's army having been captured, and things seeming to wear a pleasing aspect, on the 10th of December I communicated my design to Governor Henry. At first he seemed to be fond of it; but, to detach a party at so great a distance, [although the service performed might be of great utility], appeared daring and hazardous, as nothing but secrecy could give success to the enterprise.

"To lay the matter before the Assembly, then sitting, would be dangerous, as it would soon be known throughout the frontiers; and probably the first prisoner taken by the Indians would give the alarm, which would end in the certain destruction of the party. He had several private councils, composed of select gentlemen. After making every inquiry into my proposed plans of operation [and particularly that of a retreat, in case of misfortune, across the Mississippi into the Spanish territory], the expedition was resolved upon; and as an encouragement to those who would engage in said service, an instrument of writing was signed, wherein those gentlemen promised to use their influence to procure from the Assembly three hundred acres of land for each, in case of success.

"The Governor and council so warmly engaged in the success of this enterprise, that I had very little trouble in getting matters adjusted; and on the 2d day of January, 1778, received my instructions, and 1,200 pounds [sterling] for the use of the expediton, with an order on Pittsburgh for boats, ammunition, &c. Finding from the Governor's conversation in general to me, on the subject, that he did not wish an implicit attention to his instructions should prevent my executing any thing that would manifestly tend

Negative by H. W. Beckwith

Old Court House at Williamsburg, Va., built of brick imported from England.

to the good of the public, on the 4th I set forward, clothed with all the authority that I wished. I advanced to Major William Smith, 150 pounds to recruit men on Holston, and to meet me in Kentucky. Captain Leonard Helm, of Fauquier, and Captain Joseph Bowman, of Frederick, were to raise each a company, and on the [1st] of February arrive at Red Stone Old Fort."*

The instructions referred to by Clark, above, were two in number. One was open, or public. It ordered Clark to proceed without loss of time to raise seven companies of men, officered in the usual manner, to act as militia under Clark's orders. They were to proceed to Kentucky, and there obey such orders and directions as Clark might give them. The ostensible purpose was to take measures against the forays of the Indians upon the settlers of Kentucky. The other order was secret, but in fact contained the real purposes of Clarks' campaign. It is as follows:

GOVERNOR HENRY'S SECRET INSTRUCTIONS TO GEN. CLARK.†

Virginia Sct. In Council, Williamsburg, Jan. 2, 1778.

Lieut.-Colonel George Rogers Clark:

You are to proceed with all convenient speed to raise seven companies of soldiers to consist of fifty men each, officered in the usual manner and armed most properly for the Enterprize, and with this force attack the British post at Kaskasky.

* Now Brownsville, on the river Monongahela. Dillon.

† The fac-simile of the above letter, reduced in size, appears for the first time in the very valuable volumes of the late distinguished congressman, William Hayden English, of Indiana, published by the Bowen-Merrill Company in 1896. The original private letter of instruction of Governor Henry to Colonel Clark, from which the fac-simile above referred to was made, came into the hands of the Indiana Historical Society many years ago, and has not hitherto been rendered for publication. Its printed text, and also Gov. Henry's open letter of instructions to Gen. Clark, also appear in Butler's History of Kentucky, and in Robert Clarke & Co.'s Ohio Historical Valley series, already noted.—H. W. B.

It is conjectured that there are many pieces of Cannon and military Stores to considerable amount at that place, the taking and preservation of which would be a valuable acquisition to the State. If you are so fortunate therefore as to succeed in your expedition, you will take every possible measure to secure the artillery and stores and whatever may advantage the State.

For the transportation of the troops, provisions, &c., down the Ohio, you are to apply to the Commanding officer at Fort Pitt for Boats, and during the whole transaction you are to take especial Care to keep the true Destination of your Forces secret. Its success depends upon this. Orders are therefore given to Capt. Smith to secure the two men from Kaskasky. Similar conduct will be proper in similar cases. It is earnestly desired that you show humanity to such British subjects and other persons as fall in your hand. If the white inhabitants of that post and the neighborhood will give undoubted evidence of their attachment to this State [for it is certain they live within its limits] by taking the test prescribed by law, and by every other way and means in their power; let them be treated as fellow citizens, and their persons and property duly secured; assistance and protection against all enemies whatever shall be afforded them, and the Commonwealth of Virginia is pledged to accomplish it. But if these people will not accede to these reasonable demands, they must feel the miseries of war under the direction of that Humanity that has hitherto distinguished Americans, and which it is expected you will ever consider as the Rule of your Conduct and from which you are in no instance to depart.

The corps you are to command are to receive the pay and allowance of militia and to act under the Laws and Regulations of the State now in force as Militia. The inhabitants at this Post will be informed by you that in case they ac-

cede to the offers of becoming Citizens of this Commonwealth, a proper garrison will be maintained among them and every attention bestowed to render their Commerce beneficial, the fairest prospects being opened to the Dominions of both France and Spain.

It is in contemplation to establish a post near the mouth of Ohio. Cannon will be wanted to fortify it. Part of those at Kaskasky will be easily brought thither or otherwise secured as circumstances will make necessary.

You are to apply to General Hand [at Pittsburgh] for powder and lead necessary for this Expedition. If he can't supply it the person who has that which Capt. Lynn brot from Orleans can. Lead was sent to Hampshire by my orders and that may be delivered you. Wishing you success, I am, Sir,

Your h'ble Serv't,

P. HENRY.

"Being now in the country where all arrangements were to be made, I appointed Capt. William Harrod, and many other officers to the recruiting service; and contracted for flour and other stores that I wanted.

"I received information from Captain [Leonard] Helm, that several gentlemen took pains to counteract his interest in recruiting, as no such service was known of by the Assembly. Consequently he had to send to the Governor to get his conduct ratified. I found, also, opposition to our interest in the Pittsburgh country.

"As the whole was divided into violent parties between the Virginians and Pennsylvanians, respecting territory, the idea of men being raised for the State of Virginia affected the vulgar of the one party; and, as my real instructions were kept concealed, and only an instrument from the Governor, written designedly for deception, was made

public, wherein I was authorized to raise men for the defence of Kentucky, many gentlemen of both parties conceived it to be injurious to the public interest to draw off men at so critical a moment for the defence of a few detached inhabitants, who had better be removed, &c.

"These circumstances caused some confusion in the recruiting service. On the 29th of March, I received a letter from Major Smith, by express, informing me that he had raised four companies on Holston, to be marched immediately to Kentucky, agreeably to his orders; and an express from Kentucky informed me that they had gained considerable strength since I left that quarter. This information of four companies being raised, with Bowman's and Helm's, which I knew were on their way to join me at Red Stone, caused me to be more easy respecting recruits than otherwise I should have been.

"The officers only got such as had friends in Kentucky, or those induced by their own interest and desire to see the country. Meeting with several disappointments, it was late in May before I could leave the Red Stone settlement, with those companies, and a considerable number of families and private adventurers. Taking in my stores at Pittsburgh and Wheeling, I proceeded down the river with caution."

CHAPTER VII.

On arriving with his forces at the Falls of the Ohio, Colonel Clark took possession of an island [Corn Island] which contained about seven acres. He divided this island among a small number of families, for whose protection he constructed some light fortifications.

Of the four companies that were recruited by Major Smith, on the Holston, only one had arrived in Kentucky; and when Clark disclosed to the troops his daring designs against Post Vincennes and Kaskaskia, he was deserted by the greater part of that company. Another obstacle interfered with his plans. He found that the settlers of Kentucky, owing to the hostile temper of the Indians, could not at that time hazard a material diminution of the strength of their forts by joining the expedition under his command.*

The memoir of Clark proceeds: "On the [24th] of June, 1778, we left our little island, and run about a mile up the river in order to gain the main channel; and shot the falls at the very moment of the sun being in a great eclipse, which caused various conjectures among the superstitious. As I knew that spies were kept on the river, below the towns of the Illinois, I had resolved to march part of the way by land; and of course left the whole of our baggage, except as much as would equip us in an Indian mode.

"The whole of our force, after leaving such as was judged not competent to the expected fatigue, consisted only of four companies, commanded by Captain John

* From Dillon.

Montgomery, Joseph Bowman, Leonard Helms, and William Harrod. My force being so small to what I expected, owing to the various circumstances already mentioned, I found it necessary to alter my plans of operation. As Post Vincennes of this time was a town of considerable force, consisting of near four hundred militia, with an Indian town adjoining, and great numbers continually in the neighborhood, and in the scale of Indian affairs of more importance than any other, I had thought of attacking it first; but now found that I could by no means venture near it.

"I resolved to begin my career in the Illinois where there were more inhabitants, but scattered in different villages, and less danger of being immediately overpowered by the Indians; in case of necessity we could probably make our retreat to the Spanish side of the Mississippi; but if successful, we might pave our way to the possession of Post Vincennes.

"I had fully acquainted myself that the French inhabitants in those western settlements had great influence among the Indians in general, and were more beloved by them than any other Europeans—that their commercial intercourse was universal throughout the western and northwestern countries—and that the governing interest on the lakes was mostly in the hands of the English, who were not much beloved by them. These, and many other ideas similar thereto, caused me to resolve, if possible, to strengthen myself by such train of conduct, as might probably attach the French inhabitants to our interest, and give us influence at a greater distance than the country we were aiming for.

"These were the principles that influenced my future conduct; and, fortunately, I had just received a letter from

Colonel Campbell,* dated Pittsburgh, informing me of the contents of the treaties† between France and America. As I [Clark] intended to leave the Ohio at Fort Massac, three leagues below the Tennessee, I landed on a small island in the mouth of that river, in order to prepare for the march. In a few hours after, one John Duff and a party of hunters coming down the river, were brought to the island by our boats. They were men formerly from the states, and assured us of their happiness in joining the adventure. * *

"They had been but lately from Kaskaskia, and were able to give us all the intelligence we wished. They said that Governor Abbott had lately left Post Vincennes, and gone to Detroit on some business of importance—that Mr. Rochblave commanded at Kaskaskia, &c.—that the militia was kept in good order, and spies on the Mississippi—and that all hunters, both Indians and others, were ordered to keep a good lookout for the Rebels—that the fort was kept in good order, as an asylum, &c.—but they believed the whole to proceed more from the fondness of parade than the expectation of a visit—that, if they received timely notice of us, they would collect and give us a warm reception, as they were taught to harbor a most horrid idea of the barbarity of Rebels, especially the Virginians; but, that

* The later Col. William Linn was the messenger.—H. W. B.

† "On the 6th of February, 1778, France acknowledged the independence of the United States, and concluded a treaty of amity and commerce, and a treaty of alliance with the new Republic. The British ministry considered these acts equivalent to a declaration of war by France against Great Britain. The first article of the Treaty of Alliance between the United States and France was fixed in these words:

"Art. I. If war should break out between France and Great Britain during the continuance of the present war between the United States and England, his Majesty and the United States shall make it a common cause, and aid each other mutually with their good offices, their counsels and their forces, according to the exigence of conjunctures, as becomes good and faithful allies."

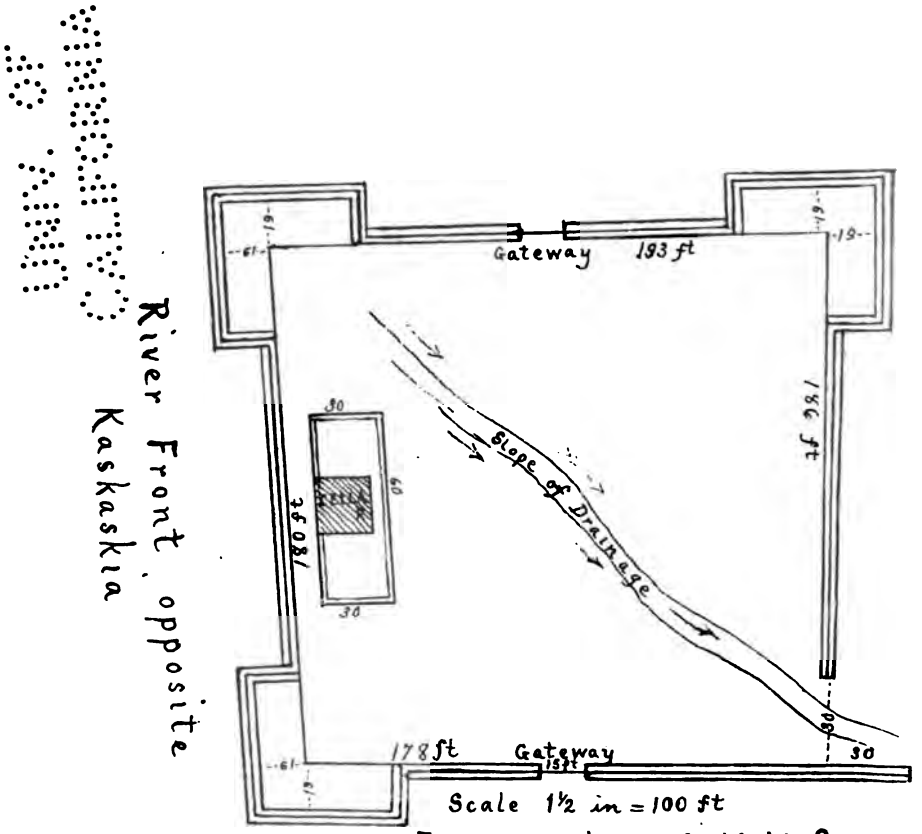
This treaty of Alliance was annulled by an act of Congress on the 7th of July, 1796.—Dillon.

if we could surprise the place, which they were in hopes we might, they made no doubt of our being able to do as we pleased—that they hoped to be received as partakers in the enterprise, and wished us to put full confidence in them, and they would assist the guides in conducting the party. This was agreed to, and they proved valuable men.

"The acquisition to us was great, as I had no intelligence from these posts, since the spies I sent twelve months past. But no part of their information pleased me more than that of the inhabitants viewing us as more savage than their neighbors, the Indians. I was determined to improve upon this, if I was fortunate enough to get them into my possession; as I conceived the greater the shock I could give them at first, the more sensibly would they feel my lenity, and become more valuable friends. This I conceived to be agreeable to human nature, as I had observed it in many instances. Having everything prepared, we moved down to a little gully a small distance above Massac, in which we concealed our boats, and set out a northwest course.

"The weather was favorable; in some parts water was scarce, as well as game; of course we suffered drought and hunger, but not to excess. On the third day John Saunders, our principal guide, appeared confused; and we soon discovered that he was totally lost, without there was some other cause of his present conduct. I asked him various questions, and from his answers I could scarcely determine what to think of him; whether or not that he was lost, or that he wished to deceive us. * * *

"The cry of the whole detachment was that he was a traitor. He begged that he might be suffered to go some distance into a plain that was in full view to try to make some discovery whether or not he was right. I told him he might go; but that I was suspicious of him from his



Earth work lines of old Fort Gage
On the high bluff East & across the river
from Kaskaskia Ill
As surveyed by H.W. Beckwith & Son
April – – 1895

conduct—that from the first day of his being employed he always said he knew the way well—that there was now a different appearance—that I saw the nature of the country was such that a person once acquainted with it, could not in a short time forget it—that a few men should go with him to prevent his escape—and that if he did not discover and take us into the Hunter's Road that led from the east into Kaskaskia, which he had frequently described, I would have him immediately put to death; which I was determined to have done; but after a search of an hour or two he came to a place he knew perfectly; and we discovered that the poor fellow had been, as they call it, bewildered.

"On the 4th of July, in the evening, we got within a few miles of the town, where we lay until near dark, keeping spies ahead, after which we commenced our march, and took possession of a house wherein a large family lived, on the bank of the Kaskaskia river, about three quarters of a mile above the town. Here we were informed that the people a few days before were under arms, but had concluded that the cause of the alarm was without foundation; and that at that time there was a great number of men in town, but that the Indians had generally left it, and at present all was quiet. We soon procured a sufficiency of vessels, the more in ease to convey us across the river.

[We leave Clark's memoir and quote from the Mason letter as follows.—EDITOR.]

"On the evening of the 4th of July," continues Clark, "we got within three miles of the town of Kaskaskia, having a river of the same name to cross to the town. After making ourselves ready for anything that might happen, we marched after night to a farm that was on the same side of the river about a mile above the town, took the family prisoners, and found plenty of boats to cross in, and in

two hours transported ourselves to the other shore with the greatest silence.

"I learned that they had some suspicion of being attacked, and had made some preparations, keeping out spies, but they, making no discoveries, had got off their guard. I immediately divided my little army into two divisions; ordered one to surround the town, with the other I broke into the fort, secured the governor, Mr. Rochblave, in fifteen minutes had every street secured, sent runners through the town, ordering the people, on pain of death, to keep close to their houses, which they observed, and before daylight had the whole town disarmed."

[The Clark-Mason letter.—H.. W. B.]

The memoir proceeds as follows:

"With one of the divisions I marched to the Fort, and ordered the other two into different quarters of the town. If I met with no resistance, at a certain signal, a general shout was to be given, and certain parts were to be immediately possessed; and men of each detachment, who could speak the French language, were to run through every street and proclaim what had happened; and inform the inhabitants that every person that appeared in the streets would be shot down. This disposition had its desired effect.

"In a very little time we had complete possession and every avenue was guarded, to prevent any escape to give the alarm to the other villages in case of opposition.

"Various orders had been issued not worth mentioning. I don't suppose greater silence ever reigned among the inhabitants of a place than did at this at present; not a person to be seen, not a word to be heard by them for some time, but designedly, the greatest noise kept up by our troops through every quarter of the town, and patroles continually the whole night round it; as intercepting any

Negative by H. W. Beckwith

KASKASKIA IN 1895.
Taken from south-west angle of the Fort across the river.

Negative by H. W. Beckwith

South slope of Fort looking East.

Negative by H. W. Beckwith

East slope of Fort, looking south

Negative by H. W. Beckwith

PART OF EAST SLOPE OF FORT.
Looking to the south-east angle of the Fort.

Negative by H. W. Beckwith

View from the north-east, looking south-westerly over the interior of the Fort.

Negative by H. W. Beckwith

Depression and debris of the cellar underneath the barracks in the Fort.

information was a capital object; and in about two hours the whole of the inhabitants were disarmed, and informed that if one was taken attempting to make his escape he should be immediately put to death."

When Colonel Clark, by the use of various bloodless means, had raised the terror of the French inhabitants to a painful height, he surprised them and won their confidence and friendship, by performing unexpectedly, several acts of justice and generosity. On the morning of the 5th of July, a few of the principal men were arrested, and put in irons. Soon afterward, M. Gibault,* the priest of the village, accompanied by five or six aged citizens waited on Clark, and said that the inhabitants expected to be separated, perhaps never to meet again, and they begged to be permitted to assemble in their church, and there to take leave of each other.

Clark mildly told the priest that he had nothing to say against his religion; that it was a matter which Americans left for every man to settle with his God; that the people might assemble in their church, if they would; but that they must not venture out of town. Nearly the whole French population assembled at the church. The houses were deserted by all who could leave them; and Clark gave orders to prevent any soldiers from entering the vacant buildings.

After the close of the meeting at the church, a deputation, consisting of M. Gibault and several other persons, waited on Clark, and said "that their present situation was the fate of war, and that they could submit to the loss of their

* The Reverend Pierre, i. e., Peter Gibault, was "Vicar General of the Bishop of Quebec for Illinois and the adjoining counties" during the British rule, and the secular priest of the French and Indians, not only at the Illinois villages, but of Vincennes as well. His home residence at Cahokia, Illinois. Being a subject of Great Britain, his later aid to, and open sympathy for the success of General Clark was a risk that invited his own arrest for treason.—H. W. B.

property; but they solicited that they might not be separated from their wives and children; and that some clothes and provisions might be allowed for their support."

Clark feigned surprise at this request, and abruptly exclaimed, "Do you mistake us for savages? I am almost certain you do, from your language! Do you think that Americans intend to strip women and children, or take the bread out of their mouths? My countrymen," said Clark, "disdain to make war upon helpless innocence. It was to prevent the horrors of Indian butchery upon our own wives and children, that we have taken arms and penetrated into this remote stronghold of British and Indian barbarity; and not the despicable prospect of plunder.

"That now the king of France has united his powerful arms with those of America, the war would not, in all probability, continue long; but the inhabitants of Kaskaskia were at liberty to take which side they pleased, without the least danger to either property or families. Nor would their religion be any source of disagreement; as all religions were regarded with equal respect in the eye of the American law, and that any insult offered it would be immediately punished. And now, to prove my sincerity, you will please inform your fellow citizens, that they are quite at liberty to conduct themselves as usual, without the least apprehension.

"I am now convinced, from what I have learned since my arrival among you, that you have been misinformed, and prejudiced against us by British officers; and your friends who are in confinement shall immediately be released." In a few moments after the delivery of this speech, the gloom that rested on the minds of the inhabitants of Kaskaskia had passed away. The news of the treaty of alliance between France and the United States, and the

influence of the magnanimous conduct of Clark, induced the French villagers to take the oath of allegiance to the State of Virginia. Their arms were restored to them, and a volunteer company of French militia joined a detachment under Captain Bowman, when that officer was despatched to take possession of Cahokia. The inhabitants of this small village, on hearing what had taken place at Kaskaskia, readily took the oath of allegiance to Virginia.

The memoir of Clark proceeds: "Post Vincennes never being out of my mind, and from some things that I had learned I had some reason to suspect that M. Gibault, the priest, was inclined to the American interest previous to our arrival in the country. He had great influence over the people at this period, and Post Vincennes was under his jurisdiction. I made no doubt of his integrity to us. I sent for him, and had a long conference with him on the subject of Post Vincennes.

"In answer to all my queries, he informed me that he did not think it worth while to cause any military preparation to be made at the Falls of the Ohio, for the attack of Post Vincennes, although the place was strong and a great number of Indians in its neighborhood, who, to his knowledge, were generally at war—that Governor Abbott had a few weeks before left the place on some business to Detroit—that he expected that when the inhabitants were fully acquainted with what had passed at the Illinois, and the present happiness of their friends, and made fully acquainted with the nature of the war, that their sentiments would greatly change—that he knew that his appearance there would have great weight, even among the savages —that if it was agreeable to me he would take this business on himself, and had no doubt of his being able to bring that place over to the American interest without my being at the trouble of marching against it—that his business being altogether spiritual, he wished that another person

might be charged with the temporal part of the embassy; but that he would privately direct the whole; and he named Doctor Lafont [John Baptiste Laffont, a physician living at Kaskaskia], as his associate.

"This was perfectly agreeable to what I had been secretly aiming at for some days. The plan was immediately settled, and the two doctors, with their intended retinue, among whom I had a spy, set about preparing for their journey; and set out on the 14th of July, with an address to the inhabitants of Post Vincennes, authorizing them to garrison their own town themselves, which would convince them of the great confidence we put in them, &c. All this had its desired effect.

"Mr. Gibault and his party arrived safe, and after their spending a day or two in explaining matters to the people, they universally acceded to the proposal [except a few emissaries left by Mr. Abbott, who immediately left the country], and went in a body to the church, where the oath of allegiance was administered to them in the most solemn manner. An officer was elected, the fort immediately [garrisoned] and the American flag displayed to the astonishment of the Indians, and everything settled far beyond our most sanguine hopes.

"The people here immediately began to put on a new face, and to talk in a different style, and to act as perfect freemen. With a garrison of their own, with the United States at their elbow, their language to the Indians was immediately altered. They began as citizens of the United States, and informed the Indians that their old father, the King of France, was come to life again, and was mad at them for fighting for the English; that they would advise them to make peace with the Americans as soon as they could, otherwise they might expect the land to be very bloody, &c.

"The Indians began to think seriously; throughout the country this was now the kind of language they generally got from their ancient friends of the Wabash and Illinois. Through the means of their correspondence spreading among the nations, our batteries began now to play in a proper channel. Mr. Gibault and party, accompanied by several gentlemen of Post Vincennes, returned to Kaskaskia, about the first of August, with the joyful news.

"During his absence on this business, which caused great anxiety in me [for without the possession of this post all our views would have been blasted], I was exceedingly engaged in regulating things in the Illinois. The reduction of these posts was the period of the enlistment of our troops. I was at a great loss at this time to determine how to act, and how far I might venture to strain my authority.

"My instructions were silent on many important points, as it was impossible to foresee the events that would take place. To abandon the country, and all the prospects that opened to our view in the Indian department at this time, for the want of instruction in certain cases, I thought would amount to a reflection on government, as having no confidence in me. I resolved to usurp all the authority necessary to carry my points. I had the greater part of our [troops] re-enlisted on a different establishment—commissioned French officers in the country to command a company of the young inhabitants—established a garrison at Cahokia commanded by Captain Joseph Bowman; and another at Kaskaskia commanded by Captain John Williams. Post Vincennes remained in the situation as mentioned.

"Colonel William Linn, who had accompanied us as a volunteer, took charge of a party that was to be discharged on their arrival at the Falls, and orders were sent for the removal of that post to the main land. Captain John

Montgomery was despatched to Government with letters. I again turned my attention to Post Vincennes.

"I plainly saw that it would be highly necessary to have an American officer at that post. Captain Leonard Helm appeared calculated to answer my purpose; he was past the meridian of life, and a good deal acquainted with the Indian [disposition]. I sent him to command at that post; and also appointed him agent for Indian affairs in the department of the Wabash. About the middle of August he set out to take possession of his new command.

"An Indian chief called the Tobacco's Son, a Piankeshaw, at this time resided in a village [of Chip-kaw-kay, i. e., Brushwood] adjoining Post Vincennes. This man was called by the Indians "The Grand Door to the Wabash;" and as nothing of consequence was to be undertaken by the league on the Wabash, without his assent, I discovered that to win him was an object of signal importance. I sent him a spirited compliment by Mr. Gibault; he returned it.

"I now, by Captain Helm, touched him on the same spring that I had done the inhabitants, and sent a speech, with a belt of wampum; directing Captain Helm how to manage, if the chief was pacifically inclined, or otherwise. The captain arrived safe at Post Vincennes, and was received with acclamations of the people.

"After the usual ceremony was over he sent for the "Grand Door," and delivered my letter to him. After having it read he informed the captain that he was happy to see him, one of the Big Knife Chiefs,* in this town—it was here that he had joined the English against him; but he confessed that he always thought that they looked gloomy; that as the contents of the letter was a matter of great mo-

* A name by which the Virginians were early known to the savages, because, being hunters and woodsmen, they carried very large knives.—H. W. B.

ment he could not give an answer for some time—that he must collect his counsellors on the subject; and was in hopes the captain would be patient. In short, he put on all the courtly dignity that he was master of; and Captain Helm following his example, it was several days before this business was finished, as the whole proceeding was very ceremonious.

"At length the Captain was invited to the Indian council, and informed by the Tobacco that they had maturely considered the case in hand, and had got the nature of the war between the English and us explained to their satisfaction; that, as we spoke the same language and appeared to be the same people, he always thought that he was in the dark as to the truth of it; but now the sky was cleared up; that he found that the Big Knife was in the right—that perhaps if the English conquered they would serve them in the same manner that they intended to serve us—that his ideas were quite changed—and that he would tell all the red people on the Wabash to bloody the land no more for the English; he jumped up, struck his breast, called himself a man and a warrior, said that he was now a Big Knife, and took Captain Helm by the hand.

"His example was followed by all present, and the evening was spent in merriment. Thus ended this valuable negotiation and the saving of much blood. In a short time almost the whole of the various tribes of the different nations on the Wabash, as high as the Ouiatenon, came to Post Vincennes, and followed the example of the Grand Door Chief; and as expresses were continually passing between Captain Helm and myself the whole time of these treaties, the business was settled perfectly to my satisfaction and greatly to the advantage of the public.

"The British interest daily lost ground in this quarter, and in a short time our influence reached the Indians on the River St. Joseph, and the border of Lake Michigan.

"The French gentlemen, at the different posts that we now had possession of, engaged warmly in our interest. They appeared to vie with each other in promoting the business; and through the means of their correspondence, trading among the Indians, and otherwise, in a short time the Indians and various tribes inhabiting the region of Illinois, came in great numbers to Cahokia, in order to make treaties of peace with us. From the information they generally got from the French gentlemen [whom they implicitly believed] respecting us, they were truly alarmed; and, consequently, we were visited by the greater part of them, without any invitation from us; of course we had greatly the advantage, in making use of such language as suited our [interest].

"Those treaties, which commenced about the last of August and continued between three and four weeks, were probably conducted in a way different from any other known in America at that time. I had been always convinced that our general conduct with the Indians was wrong--that inviting them to treaties was considered by them in a different manner to what we expected, and imputed, by them to fear—and that giving them great presents confirmed it. I resolved to guard against this, and I took good pains to make myself acquainted fully with the French and Spanish methods of treating Indians, and with the manners, genius, and disposition of the Indian in general.

"As in this quarter they had not yet been spoiled by us, I was resolved that they should not be. I began the business fully prepared, having copies of the British treaties."

"At the first great council which was opened at Cahokia, an Indian chief with a Belt of Peace in his hand, advanced to the table at which Colonel Clark was sitting; another chief, bearing the Sacred Pipe of the tribe, went forward to the table; and a third chief then advanced with fire to

kindle the pipe. When the pipe was lighted, it was figuratively presented to the heavens, then to the earth, and then to all the good spirits, to witness what was about to be done. After the observance of these forms, the pipe was presented to Clark, and afterwards to every person present. An Indian speaker then addressed the Indians as follows: "Warriors! you ought to be thankful that the Great Spirit has taken pity on you, and cleared the sky, and opened your ears and hearts, so that you may hear the truth. We have been deceived by bad birds flying through the land; but we will take up the bloody hatchet no more against the Big Knife; and we hope as the Great Spirit has brought us together for good, as he is good, that we may be received as friends, and that the Belt of Peace may take the place of the Bloody Belt.".

"I informed them," says Clark," that I had paid attention to what they had said; and that on the next day I would give them an answer, when I hoped the ears and hearts of all people would be open to receive the truth which should be spoken without deception. I advised them to keep themselves prepared for the result of this day, on which, perhaps, their very existence as a nation depended, &c., and dismissed them—not suffering any of our people to shake hands with them, as peace was not yet concluded—telling them it was time enough to give the hand when the heart could be given also.

"They replied that 'such sentiments were like men who had but one heart, and did not speak with a double tongue.' The next day I delivered them the following speech:

"Men and warriors! pay attention to my words: You informed me yesterday, that the Great Spirit had brought us together; and that you hoped, as he was good, that it would be for good. I have also the same hope, and expect that each party will strictly adhere to whatever may be agreed upon—whether it be peace or war—and henceforward prove

ourselves worthy of the attention of the Great Spirit. I am a man and a warrior; not a counsellor. I carry war in my right hand; and in my left, peace. I am sent by the Great Council of the Big Knife, and their friends, to take possession of all the towns possessed by the English in this country; and to watch the motions of the Red People; to bloody the paths of those who attempt to stop the course of the river; but to clear the roads from us to those who desire to be in peace—that the women and children may walk in them without meeting anything to strike their feet against.

"I am ordered to call upon the Great Fire for Warriors enough to darken the land, and that the Red People may hear no sound but of birds who live on blood. I know there is a mist before your eyes. I will dispel the clouds, that you may clearly see the cause of the war between the Big Knife and the English; then you may judge for yourselves which party is in the right; and if you are warriors, as you profess to be, prove it by adhering faithfully to the party which you shall believe to be entitled to your friendship; and do not show yourselves to be squaws.

"The Big Knives are very much like the Red People; they don't know how to make blankets, and powder, and cloth. They buy these things from the English, from whom they sprung. They live by making corn, hunting, and trade, as you and your neighbors, the French, do. But the Big Knives daily getting more numerous, like the trees in the woods, the land became poor, and hunting scarce; and having but little to trade with, the women began to cry at seeing their children naked, and tried to learn how to make clothes for themselves. They soon made blankets for their husbands and children; and the men learned to make guns and powder.

"In this way we did not want to buy so much from the English. They then got mad [at] us, and sent strong gar-

risones through our country; as you see they have done among you on the lakes, and among the French. They would not let our women spin, nor our men make powder, nor let us trade with anybody else. The English said we should buy everything from them; and, since we had got saucy, we should give two bucks for a blanket, which we used to get for one; we should do as they pleased; and they killed some of our people to make the rest fear them. This is the truth, and the real cause of the war between the English and us, which did not take place for some time after this treatment.

"But our women became cold and hungry, and continued to cry. Our young men got lost for want of counsel to put them in the right path. The whole land was dark. The old men held down their heads for shame; because they could not see the sun; and thus there was mourning for many years over the land.

"At last the Great Spirit took pity on us, and kindled a Great Council Fire that never goes out, at a place called Philadelphia. He then stuck down a post, and put a war tomahawk by it, and went away. The sun immediately broke out; the sky was blue again; and the old men held up their heads, and assembled at the fire. They took up the hatchet—sharpened it—and put it into the hands of our young men—ordering them to strike the English as long as they could find one on this side of the great waters. The young men immediately struck the war post, and blood was shed.

"In this way the war began; and the English were driven from one place to another until they got weak; and then they hired you Red People to fight for them; the Great Spirit got angry at this and caused your old father, the French King, and other great nations to join the Big Knives, and fight with them against all their enemies.

"So the English have become like deer in the woods; and you may see that it is the Great Spirit that has caused your waters to be troubled, because you have fought for the people he was mad with. If your women and children should now cry, you must blame yourselves for it, and not the Big Knife.

"You can now judge who is in the right. I have already told you who I am. Here is a Bloody Belt and a White one; take which you please. Behave like men; and don't let your being surrounded by the Big Knives, cause you to take up the one belt with your hands, while your hearts take up the other.

"If you take the bloody path you shall leave the town in safety, and may go and join your friends, the English. We will then try like warriors, who can put the most stumbling blocks in each other's way, and keep our clothes longest stained with blood. If, on the other hand, you should take the path of peace, and be received as brothers to the Big Knives with their friends, the French, should you then listen to bad birds that may be flying through the land, you will no longer deserve to be counted as men; but as creatures with two tongues, that ought to be destroyed without listening to any thing you might say. As I am convinced you never heard the truth before, I do not wish you to answer before you have taken time to counsel. We will, therefore, part this evening; and when the Great Spirit shall bring us together again, let us speak and think like men with but one heart and one tongue."

"The next day after this Speech, a new fire was kindled with more than usual ceremony; an Indian Speaker came forward and said, 'They ought to be thankful that the Great Spirit had taken pity on them, and opened their ears and their hearts to receive the truth. He had paid great

attention to what the Great Spirit had put into my heart to say to them.

"They believed the whole to be the truth; as the Big Knives did not speak like any other people they had ever heard. They now saw they had been deceived, and that the English had told them lies, and that I had told them the truth—just as some of their old men had always told them. They now believed that we were in the right; and as the English had forts in their country, they might, if they got strong enough, want to serve the Red People as they had treated the Big Knives.

"The Red People ought therefore, to help us; and they had with a cheerful heart taken up the Belt of Peace, and spurned that of war. They were determined to hold the former fast; and would have no doubt of our friendship, from the manner of our speaking—so different from that of the English. They would now call in their warriors, and throw the tomahawk into the river, where it could never be found. They would suffer no more bad birds to fly through the land, disquieting the women and children. They would be careful to smooth the roads for their brothers, the Big Knives, whenever they might wish to come and see them. Their friends should hear of the good talk I had given them; and they hoped I would send chiefs among them, with my eyes, to see myself that they were men and strictly adhered to all they had said at this great fire, which the Great Spirit had kindled at Cahokia, for the good of all people who would attend it."

"The sacred pipe was again kindled, and presented, figuratively, to the heavens and the earth, and to all the Good Spirits as witness of what had been done. The Indians and the white men then closed the council, by smoking the pipe, and shaking hands. With no material variation, either of the forms that were observed, or of the speeches that were

made at this council, Colonel Clark and his officers, concluded treaties of peace with the Piankeshaws, Ouiatenons, Kickapoos, Illinois, Kaskaskias, Peorias, and branches of some other tribes that inhabited the country between Lake Michigan and the River Mississippi."*

Governor Henry soon received intelligence of the successful progress of the expedition under the command of Clark. The French inhabitants of the village of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Post Vincennes, having taken the oath of allegiance to the State of Virginia, the General Assembly of that State, in October, 1778, passed an act which contained the following provisions, viz.:

"All the citizens of the Commonwealth of Virginia who are already settled or shall hereafter settle on the western side of the Ohio, shall be included in a distinct county, which shall be called Illinois County; and the Governor of this commonwealth, with the advice of the council, may appoint a county lieutenant or commander-in-chief in that county, during pleasure, who shall appoint and commission so many deputy commandants, militia officers, and commissaries, as he shall think proper in the different districts, during pleasure; all of whom, before they enter into office, shall take the oath of fidelity to this commonwealth, and the oath of office, according to the form of their own religion.

"And all civil officers to which the inhabitants have been accustomed, necessary for the preservation of the peace, and the administration of justice, shall be chosen by a majority of the citizens in their respective districts, to be convened for that purpose, by the county lieutenant or commandant, or his deputy, and shall be commissioned by the said county lieutenant or commandant-in-chief."

Before the provisions of this law were carried into effect, Henry Hamilton, the British Lieutenant Governor of De-

* Dillon.

troit, collected an army consisting of about thirty regulars, fifty French volunteers, and four hundred Indians. With this force he passed down the River Wabash, and took possession of Post Vincennes on the 15th of December, 1778. No attempt was made by the population to defend the town. Captain Helm* was taken and detained as a prisoner, and a number of the French inhabitants were disarmed.

* By Dillon. The following anecdote is related in Butler's History of Kentucky, p. 30: "When Governor Hamilton entered Vincennes there were but two Americans there, Capt. Helm, the commandant, and one Henry. The latter had a cannon well charged and placed in the open fort gate, while Helm stood by it with a lighted match in his hand. When Hamilton and his troops got within hailing distance, the American officer in a loud voice cried out, 'Halt..' This stopped the movements of Hamilton, who, in reply, demanded a surrender of the garrison. Helm exclaimed, with an oath, 'No man shall enter until I know the terms.' Hamilton answered, 'You shall have the honors of war,' and then the fort was surrendered with its garrison of one officer and one private."

BY THE EDITOR.

The following seems to be the last official letter of Sir Henry Hamilton while on his way from Detroit with a military force to recover Vincennes from the rule of General Clark. It is written Dec. 4, 1778, from Ouiattanon [Wea-ta-non].

By another document from the Haldimand collection further on herein, this so-called Fort stood "70 yards" from the westerly bank of the Wabash, and some 18 miles below the mouth of the Tippecanoe River, which would place it six or seven miles below, and on the other side of the river from La Fayette, Indiana.

It was not a fort in the sense we use that word, but a French phrase, often, as here, applied to a trade-house inclosed by a palisade. It was a custom to assign such places to favorites, or as a reward for good service to French military officers, with whom the trade of the neighboring savages was a prized monopoly. For this privilege they were to make and keep the good will of the natives. In case a defection of either was feared a few soldiers were sometimes added to dignify the claim, and keep "the English" colonial venturers at a distance.

For lack of better and fuller data as to such quasi political posts the Editor here was misled, and, drawing from the material then at hand, in a volume he published in 1879, echoed the old historic fiction of a "chain of forts," by way of the Maumee and Wabash, that "connected" the French province of Canada with that of Louisiana.

The new matter found and given out by the Editor here in the work referred to, was freely used by later authors

without giving credit to the source. They also copied the writers' errors without notice. With the "brief" of a painstaking lawyer in hand, one may throw the argument aside, easily quote the authorities cited as the result of his own research, with little risk of a charge of plagiarism.

The Ouiatenon "stockade" has long posed in western history as a "Fort." We let some of those who were better informed describe it and tell why it was built and retained.

George Croghan, a veteran trader of western Pennsylvania, taken in June, 1765, to this so-called Fort Ouiatenon says "This post has always been a very considerable trading place. The great plenty of furs taken in this country induced the French to establish it, which was the first on the Oubache [Wabash] and by a very advantageous trade they have been very richly repaid for their labour."

While on his way from Pittsburgh to Fort Chartres of the Illinois as the agent of Great Britain, to reconcile the Indians to allow it to occupy that military work and country, then but lately given up by France, Croghan was captured on the lower Ohio near Shawneetown by a war party of young Kickapoos who carried him to their town of Mat-o-cush some six miles below Post Ouiatenon. And from thence on June 23, 1765, up to the latter place.

He adds that on his arrival there, "several of the Ouiatenons [Weas of the Town across the river] with whom I had been formerly acquainted came to visit me and seemed greatly concerned at what had happened," etc. "They [also] said that the French [of the place, well advised of the purpose of his mission] had spirited up this [war] party to go and strike us." At this time he says "About fourteen French families were living in the fort."* Croghan was for many years an inveterate poacher on the

* His daily "Journal" of this mission.

beaver warrens of the French in this quarter. Hence they had no liking for him. We leave it to Sir Henry Hamilton, in his letter, which follows here, to describe the place and its mixed French and Indian habitants, as they appeared to him thirteen years later.

On its other side the Wabash skirts the Wea prairie several miles. Along this margin were as many Wea Indian villages or lesser groups of lodges. The one lowest down was opposite the present town of Independence, in Warren County, on the site of the old Kickapoo village of Mat-o-cush above referred to. At the upper end of the plains, "at the head of the bluff" [or abrupt hill] near the mouth of Wea creek, was the historic Wea-Mi-ami town of Ouiatenon.

In his reminiscence as a pioneer settler and school teacher of this section, the late Sanford Cox, in his little volume, says "his father's farm was on [a part of] the ground once covered with this Indian town. Here "the blades of butcher knives, tomahawks, brass kettles, gun-barrels," etc., were found; that he himself had "found as high as six or eight Indian knives in an hour's search, soon after they moved on the farm; and that after the rust was taken off, the knives proved of excellent metal, having lost none of their temper by long exposure to the prairie fires and weather."

Over this ground, so numerous "were Indian beads that may have graced the neck of some Indian queen or maids of honor," that the "growing weeds, or blades of grass shooting up through the eye" of these gems bore many of them "higher and higher" to glitter in the sun. No wonder that the writer's "little sister and a neighbor girl" each with such tufts in their hands, came running into the cabin

to exclaim, "ain't this a rich country, where 'even the grass and weeds grow beads?"*

In the absence of other proof differently, it may be well assumed that it was "the Bluff [near and] below the mouth of the Wea," referred to by Cox and was the same high hill" whereon the still more ancient "fort" and "village" of "Ouiatenon" was "situated," as described in the French Memoir of 1718. The outlook here fills that early description as no other point of view could have done. "From the summit of this elevation," says the Memoir, nothing is visible to the eye but [the Wea] prairies" [westerly down the river and more south towards Crawfordsville] "full of buffaloes."

We now proceed with Hamilton's letter.—H. W. B.

* Cox's "Early Settlement of the Wabash Valley." Gen. Scott and Wilkinson's accounts of their expeditions against these towns in 1791.

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HALDIMAND COLLECTION

Page 228.

[HAMILTON TO HALDIMAND.]

OUIATTANON, Dec. 4th, 1778.

SIR:

Since my leaving Detroit I have been joined on the way by savages from different quarters, the Ottawas of the Grande Glaise [The Au Glaize River that joins the Maumee at Defiance, Ohio], the Poutawattamis of St. Joseph [of Lake Michigan], the Miamis of Riviere a l' anguille [Eel River.] [The village of these Eel River Miamis was some six miles above the junction of the stream with the Wabash at Logansport, Indiana], the Poutawattamies Thipicano [The "Tippi-con" Miamis of the Tippecanoe River], the Ouiattanons, and lastly the Quiquapoos [the Kickapoos]. Their number is small, not amounting to 200, but I should be sorry to have the number increased as the expense of provision must be considerable and this wretched place little capable of furnishing a supply.

We are told they are in a miserable condition at Post Vincennes for want of provisions, their last year's crop having sprouted on the ground, they have sent to the Illinois for seed grain.

The savages are on good terms with each other, which is expressed at their meetings—the account of the strength of the Rebels varies so much, that I am at a loss to form

a judgment of it. I do not, however, believe it to be such as we have the least cause to dread.

Yesterday evening some people from Detroit joined us. By a letter from thence, I learn that Mr. [John] Macomb, a merchant of that place, has forwarded some Indian goods to the Miamis [the "Miamis" village "Ke-ki-ong-gay," says Croghan, the trader, was on both sides of the River St. Joseph's about a quarter of a mile above where it falls into the Maumee, on the east side of which stands a stockade fort, somewhat ruinous"] agreeable to my directions—notwithstanding any orders that may have been given for the furtherance of his merchandise from Deer Island, he has fifty batteaux loads at that place.

I take the liberty of mentioning this, as the supplying all the Indians within my reach, must now depend greatly on the speedy arrival of goods at Detroit early in the spring. We are nearly exhausted at present, though we do our best to content them at little expense. Arms in particular there is a great demand for.

By what I can learn, if there be any fort at the Falls of the Ohio [at Louisville, Kentucky] it is very insignificant in its present state, but if it may present, I shall be better acquainted with it.

The Fort [as it is called] at this place [Ouiatenon] is a miserable stockade surrounding a dozen of miserable cabins, called houses. The Indians hereabout are numerous, there appear 96 of their cabins, which allowing five men to a house makes the number 480.

The French settlers are few and as inconsiderable as debauchery and idleness can make them. As to their attachments it is difficult to pronounce—interest I believe is the grand monarch with them—however, I have formally administered the oath of fidelity to His Britannic Majesty and left in the care of one honest man, the St. George's

Flag to be hoisted on Sundays and holidays, giving the Indians to understand it was a signal of His Majesty having resumed his rights and again taking them under his protection.

I tore in full council the grant [or rather deed of sale] of the Peankashaws telling the assistants that busyness had been transacted contrary to the express orders of the King and without the consent of the principal chief concerned—that they were now to consider these lands as restored to them by order of His Majesty.

[The Pyankeshaws of Vincennes, with those of their upper tribe on the Vermilion River by deed of August —, 1775, granted a body of land forty leagues wide on the east side, by a width of thirty leagues on the west side of the Wabash, to John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore, Governor of Virginia at the time—he is named in the grant as the honorable "Augustus, Earl of Dunmore, Governor of the Colony of Virginia"—"William and Daniel Murray"—kinsmen—"his son John Murray, merchants in the Illinois country," and a number of other associates of London, Baltimore, Annapolis, Philadelphia and Quebec.

The grant "began at the mouth of Cat River fifty-two leagues above Post Vincennes, thence down to the place called Point Coupe [the "cut off"] about twelve leagues above Post Vincennes," and begins again at the mouth of White River and continues then on down both sides of the meanders of the Wabash to its confluence with the Ohio.

The deed was drawn by the Pyankeshaw chiefs, and acknowledged all in due English form, and must have conveyed a vast acreage in Indiana and Illinois. It was ignored by the British commandant at Fort Chartres and later, by the United States, as it was by Lieut. Governor Hamilton, above, on behalf of Great Britain.—H. W. B.]

As to Mr. Celoron I have made all enquiries in my power, but can find no excuse for his extraordinary con-

duct—unless his being deserted by common sense and common courage can plead his cause. He might have stayed in perfect security a few leagues from this place where he might have found that his fears were entirely groundless, and that he had fled from a shadow.

Mr. Le Gras, a French trader [of Vincennes] has accepted a major's commission from the Rebel Officer commanding at the Illinois.

[General Clark's account of this affair is that Monsieur de Celoron, a British Indian agent of the Wea section of the Wabash, is that the former "hurt our growing interest so much" that "I resolved, if possible, to take him off." Accordingly "I sent a detachment of men from Kaskaskia under Lieutenant [John] Bailey to join Captain [Leonard] Helm at St. Vincent to surprise him [Celoron]. The Captain with about one hundred men, part French Militia and Indians set out [up the Wabash] by water."

"The agent, hearing of it, collected a few savages from the neighborhood that he could trust, to give battle; but a few days before Helm's arrival Mr. Celoron thought best to make his escape [in the night], leaving his friendly Indians in the fort [Ouiatenon] who, being in a grand council, to determine what was best to be done, neglected to shut the gate, or keep sentinels—not supposing an enemy so near.

While in the height of their deliberation Captain Helm, Bailey and his small party entered the Fort before they were apprised, and ordered them to surrender, about forty in number being made prisoners. The captain made a valuable treaty and gave them their liberty. This stroke completed our interest on the Wabash."*]

A letter from Mr. Gray, the deputy sheriff at Montreal, acquaints me that some legal process has been commenced

* Gen. Clark in letter to George Mason of Nov. 19, 1779.—H. W. B.

against Mr. Dejean for acting under my direction in regard to criminal matters. I beg leave to recommend him to your Excellency's protection as a man who has created enemies by doing his duty, and who has had the misfortune to fall from good circumstances into indigence.

I hope I shall alone be responsible for any malversation of his, as he has only acted by my order, and I have had reason to be satisfied with his behavior as an honest man and loyal subject.

Should any complaints against myself be lodged judicially, I am perfectly at ease, persuaded your Excellency will allow me to vindicate my conduct without encountering the *Chicane* of the Law.

We are much at a loss for certain intelligence respecting a war with foreign Powers. Your Excellency's orders and Instructions will be waited for impatiently, as by them I shall regulate my proceedings in this country.

From what I can at present judge it will be practicable to establish a post and build a fort in any part of the Indian country eastward of the Mississippi as far as the Ohio, but for this, aids of men and merchandise will be necessary to support what may be undertaken and to keep up the good disposition of the Indians.

Those of this nation [the Weas] have promised to raise all their warriors next spring, and to spread themselves in all directions on the frontiers. I have recommended to them the example of the Lake Indians for courage and humanity.

I cannot pretend to acquaint your Excellency with the steps I shall take after my leaving this place, which will be in a few hours hence—the rigor of the season, which has in some places frozen the river quite across, the delays occasioned by the repairs necessary for one craft, and the usual tardiness of the Indians who being in Main Spring,

must be attended to, all conspired to the tediousness of the journey. The health and good temper of all the various colors and characters that comprise my little band, give me encouragement to hope the best.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most devoted and most obedient servant,

HENRY HAMILTON.

Endorsed: Detroit No. 24—1779.

From Lt. Gov. Hamilton,

Dated at Ouiattanon 4th Dec., 1778.

Rec'd 19th March.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 250.

[*HELM TO CLARK.]

DR. SIR—At this time there is an army within three miles of this place. I heard of their comin several days beforehand, I sent spies to find the certainty, the spies being taken prisoners, I never got intelligence till they got within 3 miles of the town, as I had called the militia & had all assurance of their integrity I ordered, at the fireing of a Cannon, every man to appear, but I saw but few. Capt. Buseron behaved much to his honour & credit but I doubt the certaint of a certain gent. Excuse haste as the army is in sight. My determination is to defend the Garrison though I have but 21 men but wh't has lef me. I referr you to Mr. Wm. for the test. The army is in three hundred y'd of village. You must think how I feel, not four men that I can really depend on, but am determined to act brave; think of my condition I know its out of my power to defend the town as not one of the militia will take arms thoug before sight of the army no braver men than. Their is a flag at a small distance.

I must conclud

Yr humble servt

LE'OD HELM.

Must stop.

To Col. Clark.

Copy of Capt. Helm's letter commanding for the rebells at Post Vincennes. Enclosed in Lt. Gov. Hamilton's of 18th December. [The original spelling of the letter of Helm is followed.—H. W. B.]

* Capt. Helm was not aware of the approach of the British troops until they had gotten quite near Vincennes. He then wrote to Clark advising him of the fact. The "express" who carried the letter was killed, the letter taken and sent to Detroit. It is a part of the Canadian archives. A copy of it is given above.—H. W. B.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 235.

[HAMILTON TO HALDIMAND.]

ST. VINCENNES, Dec. 18, 1778.

SIR—I had the honor in my last letter of acquainting your Excellency with my arrival at Ouiattanon, and proceedings at that place, since when nothing very material happened till the 15th of December, when a reconnoitering party from our camp seized a Lieutenant and three men sent up by the commandant at St. Vincennes with written instructions to watch for the English and to hasten back with his intelligence. The officer acquitted himself but poorly, having taken so little precaution as to be surprised himself.

He was furnished with two commissions, one from Lt. Gov. Abbott, the other from the Commandant for the Congress. He showed no apprehension of being hanged on the next tree, which he certainly deserved, and observing the savages offer'd him no violence, he was presently quite at his ease. From these men I learned that the commandant had permitted almost all his people to return to their homes and depended on the French militia, who had all taken an oath of fidelity to the States.

The 16th I sent off two parties of Indians with each an Indian officer, with instructions to lye on the roads, one on each side of the river, to intercept any intelligence of our arrival that might be sent to the Ilinois or the Falls of Ohio. They had orders to keep their stations till they should discover the English Flag flying on the Fort. At the same time, Mr. Hay, appointed to act as Major to the Detroit Militia, was detached with Captain LaMothes' Company of Volunteers, Lieut. Du Vernet of the Royal Artillery with the six Pounder and the Detachment of the King's

regiment. He had with him the Interpreters and some Chiefs of the different nations, had our whole force moved forward together it would probably have been impossible to have restrained the savages from destroying the settlement. As it was, the young men took alarm that they should have no share in the busyness and threw themselves hastily into their canoes to follow. They were, however, prevailed on to return. A placart was sent to the inhabitants cautioning them to avoid acting on the offensive, as the consequence must be fatal to them. Major Hay had orders to secure if possible the craft lying before the place, by sending a party in the night in boats to pass the town and stop any people who should attempt to escape by water. If [as I expected] there was not any resistance made and that he found the report of the prisoners to be true, he was to order the St. George's Ensign to be hoisted at the Fort as a signal for our out parties to join. He was likewise empowered to receive submission of the French inhabitants who should lay down their arms. Should he find that reinforcements had joined the Rebels he was to take post to the best advantage, send off express to me and wait my arrival. Having taken these precautions on the 17th, I fell down the river from the distance of seven leagues. It snowed and blew fresh from daybreak till one o'clock, when, to my surprize, I perceived the Rebel Flag still flying at the Fort I concluded they had been reinforced and was confirmed in that belief when I found Lieut. Schieffelin with all our boats lying in a little cove a mile above the town. The men [however half frozen] were in good spirits. I ordered Captains Maisonville and McLeod to land their men, and leaving one man to each boat as a guard, marched slowly towards the place, ordering a flanking party, as the brushwood was thick on our left. When we came in sight of the Town, I posted centries and halted the men. A messenger now came to me from Major Hay desiring I might send him

the St. Georges Flag, that his men were advantageously posted and the gun mounted. I ordered the Flag to be carried and went to join him, where I found his men drawn up and the French militia bringing in their arms. Major Hay told me the Commandant was deserted by those he had reposed confidence in, and did not mean to hold out, but that he would not strike his colors till he knew what terms he was to have. The six pounder being ready, I ordered Lieut. Du Vernet to proceed with it towards the Fort, six men with a Sergeant of the King's Regiment marching before with fixed bayonetts, followed by the remainder of the Detachment of the Volunteers and Militia, under Major Hay.

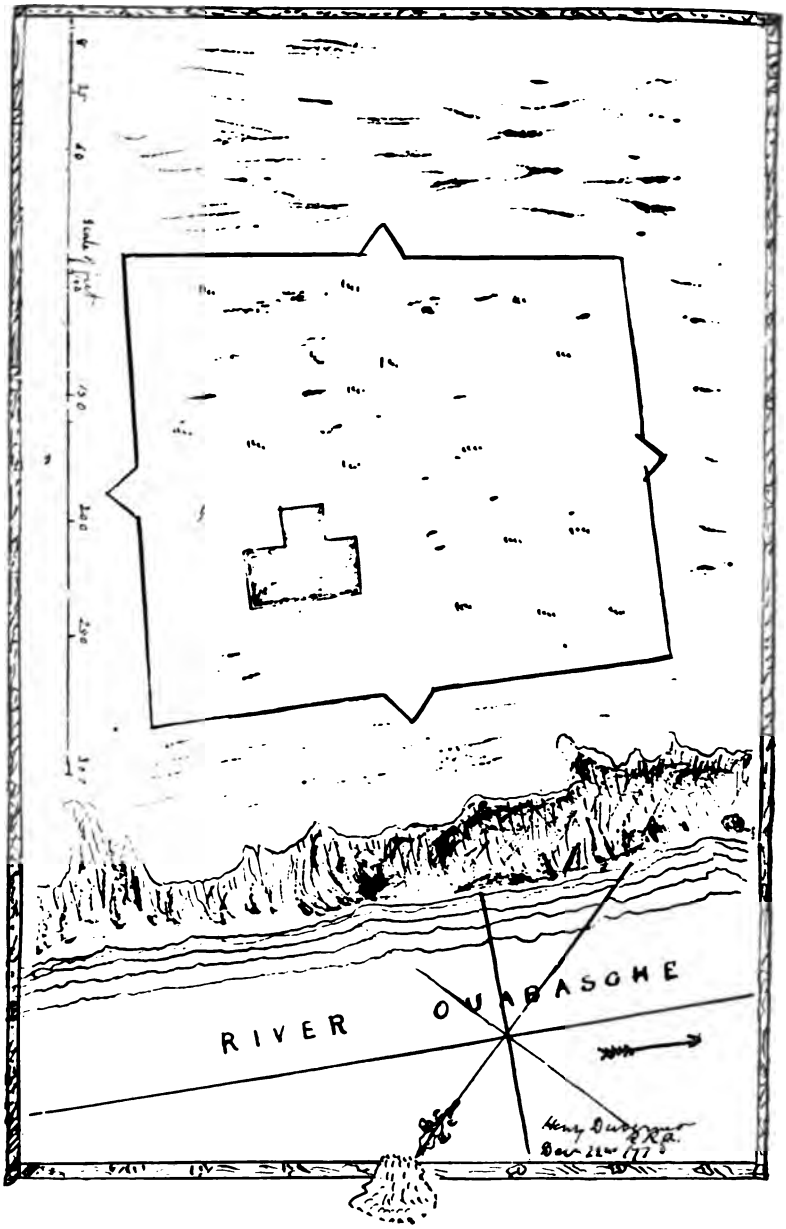
As I approached the Gate of the Fort I sent a person forward to summons the commanding officer to deliver his Fort up. He desired by a written paper to know who made the demand. I sent for answer *verbally*, the King's lieutenant Governor from Detroit, and advanced to the wickett. He came himself [for indeed he was almost alone] and asked what terms he should have, he was answered, humane treatment for himself, that no other terms would be mentioned. He then admitted me, and I instantly posted sentries at the gate to keep out the savages, but while I attended to this some of them got in at two gun ports which had not been secured. I called to the Interpreters and used my best entreaties with the Chiefs, who really did all in their power, but the torrent was too strong for such feeble barriers; they bore down the sentries, and seeing I had posted another at the door of the commandant's quarters, they went to the windows, which they broke and fell to plundering.

The soldiers in the meantime drew up in the fort and were quiet spectators of this scene of disorder, which lasted till the curiosity [I cannot say avarice] of the Savages was gratified. They have generously restored to Captain Helm

whatever was required of his private property; some stout horses, 32 lately purchased on the account of the Congress, they found in the fort, which I would not deprive them of, as they have not committed a single act of cruelty, and treated the inhabitants with the humanity which was recommended to them. Had a single shot been fired, probably the settlement would have been destroyed in an hour's time. For some time the command't. hesitated to take down the continental flag, but at length finding it was left for themselves to do, he had it taken down and we hoisted the St. George's, which signal drew in our parties who had taken two prisoners, an American and a Frenchman, who had Capt. Helm's letter to Colonel Clark, commandant [under the Congress] of the eastern Ilinois, acquainting him of the arrival of the English at this place and of his situation. I send Your Excellency a copy, as it shews what confidence is to be placed in men who have once violated a sacred engagement.

The 18th I convened the inhabitants in the Church, and having in pretty strong terms painted their poltroonery, ingratitude and perfidy, I read them an oath, to be subscribed only by those who, being sensible of their fault, should publickly acknowledge it, and thereby have some claim to the Protection of Government. The chief people of the place have either in an underhand manner, or openly, embraced the Rebel party—some have been in pay, others registered for service in case of need. The account of their number is subjoined.

The oath, which I read in the Church aloud and explained to them, I told was not forced upon them, but offer'd for the consideration of sober people convinc'd of their fault and who on their repentance might be once again receiv'd under the protection of their King. Humiliating as it is, 158 had signed it in a few days. I on my part swore conditionally. Copies accompany this letter and a list of the



Plan of Fort Sackville

Sir Henry Hamilton's changes of Captain Abbott's work of 1778.

companies engaged in the service of the Congress who laid down their arms the 17th. There is nothing flattering to win such submission, but I must say to the praise of the officers and men, they supported the fatigues and hardships of their tedious journey with the utmost chearfullness. As to the poor savages, their not firing a single shot on the day of taking possession of the place, nor injuring or even insulting a single soul excepting a poor Miller, whose house they plundered, being half a league from the Fort, their conduct surely reflects disgrace on some well instructed Christian regulars who have not held Hospitals as Asylums from their fury.

SIR—As I have decided not to send a considerable party to the Ilinois this winter, I beg leave to advance my reasons. Late rains have swelled the Rivers so as to make it probable we might be stopp'd so long as to consume our Provision before we got half way the distance, computed 80 leagues, the Fort at this place in no proper state to serve as a Garrison for the winter season, requires all hands to make it tenable. If the Garrison was weakened, a Force might come against it and be joined by the unsteady inhabitants. The Ouabache Indians, who are wavering, require the presence of some force to keep them to their professions. I have the honor to send the plan of the fort, which is a bad stockade. As soon as coverings for the men, provisions and stores are finished I design to alter its form to that of a triangle, having a block house in each angle to project over the picketting of the face of each half bastion. Our own men may carry on the work in the course of the winter, tho' this should be done. The village is built in such a manner [a space of from 100 feet to 200 feet and more being left between house and house] that most of them might be maintained by a dozen men and distress the largest Garrison the Fort could contain. Some Houses are near the Fort and it would be very expensive to

purchase them and ruinous to particulars to destroy them. The Garrison might have it in their power, in case of treachery, to burn the whole town, either by making sallies in the night or firing red-hot bullets. Your Excellency will, I hope, excuse my entering into a number of particulars, the necessity of my having positive orders, and my ignorance as to what may be designed in consequence of the recovery of the place, prompt me to trespass on your time.

I have this day, 25th December, sent off an Express to Mr. Stuart with Belts for the Chickasaws and Cherakees and a letter informing Mr. Stuart of the good disposition of the Indians, requiring these to the southward to act vigorously the ensuing spring. If the account I have just received be true it need not be doubted they will viz't. that 400 Shawanese, Delawares, Ottawas and Cherakees, are now assembled at the Cherakee river with design to intercept the rebel boats passing and repassing the Ohio. My Scouts toward Kaskaskias brought me in two Prisoners last night, who inform me that no boats are as yet arrived at the Ilinois from Orleans, that the Rebels do not exceed forescore at Kaskaskias and 30 at Cahokia, that some Poutcouattamies were lately arrived there and that there is no discipline observed by the Rebels. This day I sent off two Chiefs of the Poutcouattamies of Detroit, who design to go to Kaskasquias and have promised me to return as soon as they can execute their orders.

Captain Helm remains here on his parole till it be known if the Governor of Virginia permit his exchange for Mr. de Rocheblave, who is at Williamsburgh.

The arrival of a reinforcement of Troops from Detroit early in the spring will enable me to send home the Volunteer Militia who accompanied me hither for the Campaign.

Mr. de Celoron is unfit to remain as commandant at Ouiattanon. His pusillanimity drove him 400 miles from

his post and he never waited to have certain accounts, but forged such as his fears or credulity suggested. A Miamis Chief acquainted me with the circumstances this day.

26th December. We have built a barrack of logs and boards capable of receiving 50 men, two companies move in this day. The rest remain tented in the Fort till Lodging can be built for them. We shall have the Well made in 6 days.—Though the frost is pretty severe. The Powder Magazine is finished. This day two Delaware came in, who heard the morning and evening gun as they say at the distance of 3 days' march. They say Belts are gone from the Chickasaas and Cherakees to the Shawanese and Delawares requiring them to forget former quarrels and to unite against the Virginians. The messengers are expected to be here in a few days.

These Delawares confirm the account of a number of Shawanese, Ottawas, Chickasaas and Cherakees being assembled at Cherakee [or, as it is called here, Chickasaa] river. They add that some one employed for His Majesty has invited all the Southern nations to convene at the same place next Spring to come to St. Vincennes to drive out the Rebels and their friends, that the people now there were to intercept the Rebel boats, &c., on the Ohio and Mississipi, that the Rebels were dispossessed lately of a settlement on the Mississippi by the English.

27th. This day a party of Quiquaboes went to war towards Kaskasquias. This makes me easy as to the Indians of this river, who will follow implicitly the example of the Quiquaboes, the most warlike and cruel of them all.

As I had engaged the Volunteer Militia of Detroit for the Campaign, they were this day advertised that they should be allowed to return with 20 days' pay from the date of their discharge.

Two hundred and fifty of the militia of this place appear'd this day under arms with their officers; all of them

have taken the oath of allegiance and renounced their late confederacy. They are in course pardon'd.

I hope your Excellency will approve of this act of oblivion. If a sense of interest can move them they will adhere to it. As to courage, honor or gratitude, if they were of the growth of this soil, they would have shewed themselves on the occasion of a handfull of Rebels coming to take away the possessions of three hundred men, used to arms as Hunters and used to the mildest Government under heaven.

It will be a great satisfaction to me to have your Excellency's orders, & as soon as possible to resign to the person you shall send to command here, a power which must be maintained in Credit only by a military force.

I have taken up all the spiritous Liquors in the place, which is better surety for their good behavior, and a more beloved hostage than wife or child.—Tomorrow I shall destroy two Billiard tables, the sources of immorality and dissipation in such a settlement. Could I catch the Priest, Mr. Gibault, who has blown the trumpet of Rebellion for the Americans, I should send him down unhurt to your Excellency, to get the reward for his zeal.

The above mentioned Poutcouattamies whom I sent towards Kaskasquias are returned. The waters being out, as they say, prevented their progress.

They brought in a Frenchman, Prisoner, who had nothing new to tell.

The Scouts of Shawanese and Miamis which are gone towards the Falls of Ohio are not yet returned.

Several Chiefs and Warriors are returned to their Villages, seemingly well satisfied, and have promised to return if it should be necessary.

The diminution of our numbers is a necessary step, as the consumption of Provision during their stay is very considerable.

I will not take up more of your Excellency's time at present, only to request you will excuse the inaccuracy and hurry of my letter.

I have the honor to be, with profound respect, Sir, Your Excellency's most devoted and most humble servant,

HENRY HAMILTON.

St. Vincennes, Dec. 30th, 1778, the express sets out.

Endorsed: Detroit No. 25, 1779. From Lt. Gov. Hamilton with several enclosures from No. 1 to 8. Dated at St. Vincennes the 18th December, 1778. Received the 19th March, 1779.

REMARKS ON LIEUT. GOV. HAMILTON'S LETTER 18TH DEC'R, 1778.

In the 6th page he gives raisons for not sending any body this winter to the Illinois by water, to attack the Rebells. It shows he has no means to go by land.

Before that he speaks of one 6-pounder, but does not return what ammunition he has for said canon.

He finds, page 7, the village a detriment to the Fort now building, and immediately after he thinks it now, by proposing means to destroy said village, but he gives no raison why he does not remove the fort from so an disadvantageous situation. Soon after he seems to want positive orders, and as if he doubted or was ignorant of the use that the retaking of St. Vincennes could be; as if he had been ordered to attack it, and by his own raisons, page 6, he tells the necessity of having it in possession. If he leaves it without keeping a Garrison there, the Rebels will soon oblidge him to make another Expedition.

He seems to think next spring to attack the two posts at the Illinois. It is hoped in that case that he will at least take one of the 3 Pounders which he got at St. Vincennes allong, so as to make a cross fire, or else the Rebells might easily cover themself against one cannon, that is, if he expects nothing but stockades to attack. Otherwise

a 6 Pounder field piece would not be sufficient, or else he will be oblidged to do as they did at Fort Stanwix: Two Royall mortars would be usefull, if he had more artillerymen, than two, he says, page 8, that he has sent two Indians, who were to return as soon as they had executed their orders, but does not mention what orders he gave them. Page 10, he mentions their return and says the water being out, an Indian expression. without explaining it. He mentions an reinforcement next spring from Detroit, but does not mention what number he wants. Neither if he has ordered said reinforcement or if the Commander in Chief is to order. He thinks M. Celoron unfit to remain Commandant at wiagtanon, as if he was their again. which ought to mention, but says he left it in a fright and went 400 miles from it. He speaks, page 9, of Indians who arrived and told they heard a morning and evening gun 3 days' march off. If it is his, he must have a great deal of powder to waste during the winter. Page 10, he requests the Commander In Chief's orders and a person to command to whom he will resign, as if he will neither stay at St. Vincennes nor proceed to the Ilinois to reduce the Rebells, which I thought was his design of leaving Detroit. He does not mention from where he expects Provisions next spring, if he has ordered any from Detroit, or if the Commander in Chief is to order any with the reinforcement. Page 8, he intends to send back the militia from Detroit, which went with him for the Campaign, as if he would stay their; by his return the amount to 103 men, so that he expects more for a reinforcement besides the number for a garrison, St. Vincennes. He does not say what number will be wanted to keep the Indians to their professions as he says at page 7.

Endorsed: Remarks on the letter of Lieut. Gov. Hamilton.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 233.
[*Translation.*]

The inhabitants of St. Vincennes are advised and cautioned by these notices to remain quietly, each one with his family, to await the arrival of the Lieut. Governor of Detroit, who is coming with the expectation of re-establishing peace and to secure honest people in their possessions. Those who have been so foolish as to listen to interested persons or to bad advisers and who have recognized their error will be pardoned it. Those on the contrary who have signally failed in their duty and remain attached to the Rebels can expect only the punishment their crimes merit. If the Indians have been peaceable and humane up to the present, it is not probable that they will begin at this hour to act otherwise. There is nothing to fear but for those who have pushed their folly to the extreme.

Major Hay is authorized by me to receive the oath of allegiance to His Brittanic Majesty and to take possession of arms, powder, ammunition and provisions, &c., until further orders. Signed by my Hand this 16th day of December, 1778.

HENRY HAMILTON.

True copy, Lt. Gov. and Superintendant; enclosed in Lt. Col. Hamilton's letter of 18th December; marked Detroit.

EDITORIAL [RESUMING CLARK'S NARRATIVE].

Soon after the reduction of Post Vincennes, the situation of Colonel Clark became perilous. Detached parties of hostile Indians began to appear in the neighborhood of his forces in the Illinois. He ordered Major Bowman to evacuate the fort at Cahokia, and join him at Kaskas-

kia. "I could see," says Clark, "but little probability of keeping possession of the country; as my number of men was too small to stand a siege, and my situation too remote to call for assistance.

"I made all the preparation I possibly could for the attack, and was necessitated to set fire to some of the houses in town, to clear them out of the way. But, on the 29th of January, 1779, in the height of the hurry, a Spanish merchant [Francis Vigo], who had been at Post Vincennes, arrived and gave the following intelligence:

"That Mr. Hamilton had weakened himself by sending his Indians against the frontiers, and to block up the Ohio; that he had not more than eighty men in garrison, three pieces of cannon, and some swivels mounted; that the hostile Indians were to meet at Post Vincennes in the spring, drive us out of the Illinois, and attack the Kentucky settlements, in a body, joined by their southern friends; that all the goods were taken from the merchants of Post Vincennes for the King's use;—that the troops under Hamilton were repairing the fort, and expected a reinforcement from Detroit in the spring; that they appeared to have plenty of all kinds of stores; that they were strict in their discipline; but, that he did not believe they were under much apprehension of a visit; and believed that, if we could get there undiscovered, we might take the place.

"In short, we got every information from this gentleman that we could wish for; as he had had good opportunities, and had taken great pains to inform himself, with a design to give intelligence. We now viewed ourselves in a very critical situation—in a manner cut off from any intercourse between us and the United States. We knew that Governor Hamilton, in the spring, by a junction of his northern and southern Indians [which he had prepared for], would be at the head of such a force that nothing

in this quarter could withstand his arms—that Kentucky must immediately fall; and well if the desolation would end there.

"If we could immediately make our way good to Kentucky, we were convinced that before we could raise a force even sufficient to save that country, it would be too late—as all the men in it, joined by the troops we had, would not be sufficient; and to get timely succor from the interior counties was out of the question.

"We saw but one alternative, which was to attack the enemy in their quarters. If we were fortunate, it would save the whole. If otherwise, it would be nothing more than what would certainly be the consequence if we should not make the attempt. These, and many other similar reasons, induced us to resolve to attempt the enterprise, which met with the approbation of every individual belonging to us.

"Orders were immediately issued for preparations. The whole country took fire with alarm; and every order was executed with cheerfulness by every description of the inhabitants—preparing provisions, encouraging volunteers, &c., &c., and as we had plenty of stores, every man was completely rigged with what he could desire to withstand the coldest weather. To convey our artillery and stores, it was concluded to send a vessel round the water, so strong that she might force her way.

"A large Mississippi [keel] boat was immediately purchased, and completely fitted out as a galley, mounting two four-pounders, and four large swivels.* She was manned by forty-six men under the command of Captain John Rogers.

"He set sail on the 4th of February, with orders to force his way up the Wabash as high as the mouth of White

* This vessel was called "The Willing."—Dillon. So named after Captain James Willing.—H. W. B.

River, and to secrete himself until further orders; but if he found himself discovered to do the enemy all the damage he could, without running too great a risk of losing his vessel; and not to leave the river until he was out of hope of our arrival by land; but by all means to conduct himself so as to give no suspicion of our approach by land.

"We had a great dependence on this galley. She was far superior to anything the enemy could fit out without building a vessel; and, at the worst, if we were discovered, we could build a number of large pirogues, such as they possessed, to attend her, and with such a little fleet, perhaps, pester the enemy very much; and if we saw it our interest, force a landing; at any rate, it would be some time before they could be a match for us on the water."

Crossing the Kaskaskia, Clark took the old trail over the prairies of Illinois to the Embarrass near Vincennes. The narratives of Clark, or daily Journal of Bowman, refer to their crossing the upper branches of the Big Muddy, the "north fork of the Saline," the two main branches of "the little Wabash" [a few miles west of Olney, present county seat of Richland County]. This trail between the ancient villages of Kaskaskia and Vincennes, followed afoot or on horseback when there was no habitation between, has improved apace with the settling of the state on either side, yet there have been but few changes of the old route of nearly two hundred years ago.

On account of the flooded condition of the country Clark left it at the Embarrass river. He says, "from the spot [on the west bank of the Wabash] we now lay on, [it] was about ten miles to town." [Some ten miles below Vincennes]. Having crossed to the east side of the river, his route over the flooded lands from thence to Vincennes is a problem which a reference to its topography will greatly help to solve.

Westerly of the railroad from Vincennes to Evansville the country is "a low alluvial plain," broken by gentle, latteral or oblique ridges depressed here and there to again elevate into conical knobs called by the French "mamelles" because of a fancied likeness to the female breast. At crossing place there are two of these cones, one near the river, the other some two miles or more to the east. In later times this second mamelle was, and is now, known as the "Chimney Rock," and both still remain noted features of the landscape.

Geologically these ridges and knolls "are the remains of the Merom sandstone" that once covered the whole area in question. "Sections taken from the points named show a uniform strata and material" that leave no doubt as to the fact that, except the elevations named, the primeval covering was "washed away" and carried southward to make the "Sandy Barrens" in that direction of the County. The ridges and knolls that remain "are interspersed by numerous bayous or overflowed swampy basins," and by several "permanent ponds" that intervene.*

The writer here has used so much of the Professor's map that is with his report as covers Clark's route from the Wabash to Vincennes and produces it here changed so as to make it agree with the accounts as given by Clark and Bowman, or other authentic data.†

As the reader may recall, Clark gave two accounts of this campaign, one in the so-called Mason letter, written Nov.

* Report of the late Professor John Collett on Knox County in "The Geological Survey of Indiana for 1873, pages 324-328, et sequi.—H. W. B.

† To which Professor Collett did not have access at the time. But in the hurry of the hour he was required to rely on local tradition, much of which is in error as to Clark's real movements in that neighborhood.—H. W. B.

19, 1779, and in his "Memoir," composed a number of years later at the request of the Presidents, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison.*

It remained for the late William Hayden English to publish the Clark "Memoir" from Judge Dillon's copy in full. In other respects Mr. English's "Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio, and Life of Gen. George Rogers Clark" seemingly exhausts the subject treated.

On a surface view these accounts of Clark seem to conflict in several places, the one with the other, and both with the statements of Bowman in his diary relating to the same events. But when all three are compared, sifted, and their descriptive statements applied to the known topography and geological features of the locality, the course of Clark's army over the submerged lands, knolls and sugar camps, woods and flooded basins, to Vincennes, will appear, as shown on the writer's map herewith, with a fair degree of certainty.

Clark says they crossed the Wabash about ten miles below Vincennes. Bowman, in his diary, says "at break of day, Feb. 21, began to ferry our men over in our two canoes to a small hill called the Mobib or Bubbriss," [which is here a misspelt slang phrase for the word mamelle]. The whole army being over, we plunged [on] into the water

* The writer here knew quite well the late historian, Judge John B. Dillon, of Indiana, and was aware of the fact that he had a copy of Clark's Memoir. By him the writer was also told that the late Lyman C. Draper of the Wisconsin Historical Society had gotten the original. All this time the document remained in manuscript form except in its greater portion and material parts as found in Dillon's "Historical Notes," etc., printed in 1843. Judge Dillon died, and the writer here, failed to secure a transcript from the copy of that author. Mr. Draper, with whom the writer here was personally acquainted, and with whom he had a frequent and voluminous correspondence for several years, kept his Clark Manuscripts under close cover, as he himself meant to write a life of Clark. Unfortunately for the history of the "Northwest" he died without having done this great work, for which he had toiled so many years in collecting the material.—H. W. B.


Topographical Map
showing
GENERAL CLARK'S ROUTE
From the Crossing of the
WABASH to VINCENNES
By
H. W. Beckwith
T. 3. N.
Westport
RIVER
WABASH
CATTINS PRAIRIE
Sugarloaf Mound
Pond
T. 2. N
San Francisco
CLARKS FIRST CROSSING
St Francisville
Cypress Swamp
Deshee River
Deckers Sta.

sometimes to the neck for more than one league [easterly] to the next hill of the same name" [later known as the Chimney Rock].

Going north from the "second mamelle" or "Chimney Rock" the next day, Feb. 22, was the most daring and dangerous of Clark's ventures in all the perils of his journey. He finally reached the desired "undergrowth and Sugar Camps," evidently quite near the "permanent pond" as shown on the map. The Sugar Camps, Clark says, "was a delightful spot of ground of about ten acres." Bowman says under date of Feb. 22, "we came one league farther [north from the second Mamelle] to some sugar camps, where we staid all night. No provisions yet. The Lord help us."* Clark continues as follows: "Crossing a narrow, deep lake [the permanent pond of Professor Collett] in canoes, we came to a copse of timber called Warriors [Warrens] island."†

"We were now [continues Clark] in full view of the fort and town, not a shrub between us, at about two miles distance."‡

"The low plane we marched through was not a perfect level, but had frequent risings [ridges referred to by Professor Collett] which generally ran in an oblique direction to the town. We took advantage of one of them, marching [and counter marching] through the water under it, which

* The accounts of Bowman and Clark do not agree in that the former places the deep wading north of the "permanent pond," while Clark says it was south of that water as stated in the text.—H. W. B.

† In a transcript of the manuscript "Diary" supplied to Judge John Law of Vincennes, the hill in question is called "Warrens" Island, and a more careful scanning of Clark's Manuscript Memoir will no doubt disclose the same orthography.—H. W. B.

‡ In the Mason letter Clark is more explicit. He there says "As it was an open plain from the wood that covered us, I marched time enough to be seen from the town before dark.—H. W. B.

completely prevented our men being numbered." "In raising [French] volunteers in the Illinois, each person who set about the business had a set of colors given him;" "these they brought with them, ten or twelve pairs" in number; and they "were fixed on long poles procured for the purpose, so as to show above these heights [ridges] and at a distance made no despicable appearance."

"In this manner we moved so as to suffer it to be dark before we had advanced more than half way to the town. We then suddenly altered our direction, crossed the ponds where they could not have suspected us, and about eight o'clock gained the heights back of the town. Lieutenant [John] Bailey was ordered with fourteen men to march and fire on the fort. The main body moved in a different direction and took possession of the strongest [most populous] part of the town. The firing now commenced on the fort, but they did not believe it was an enemy until one of their men was shot down through a port as he was lighting his match, as drunken Indians frequently saluted the fort after night. The drums now sounded and the business fairly commenced on both sides. Reinforcements were sent to attack the garrison, while other arrangements were making in the town."

"We now found that the garrison had known nothing of us, that having finished the fort that evening* they amused themselves at different games and had retired just before my letter arrived, as it was near roll call. The placard being made public, many of the inhabitants were afraid to show themselves out of the houses for fear of giving offense, and not one dare give information [to the garrison]. Several suspected persons had been "confined in the garrison." Among them was a Moses Henry [a private citizen of

* After the plans of Hamilton's Military Engineer, Henry du Vernet, to enlarge and complete the original work of Lieutenant Governor Abbott's Fort Sackville.—H. W. B.

Vincennes, in known sympathy with the Americans]. His wife, "Mrs. [Ann] Henry, went under pretense of carrying him provisions and whispered him the news of what she had seen [in the town] and Mr. Henry conveyed it to his fellow prisoners, which gave them much pleasure," etc.* As for Moses Henry, after the recapture of Vincennes, Clark made him "Indian Agent" in that quarter.

Later in life he claimed 136.16 Arpents of land in virtue of a French or British grant, prior to its ownership by the United States, and which he had assigned to another old citizen of Vincennes, Luke Decker. Never having been "surveyed" or its boundaries otherwise defined, the claim along with those of others in like condition, was not allowed. Having died, Ann Henry, his widow, put in a claim, under the Act of Congress of August 29, 1788, that she had been the "head of a family settled at Post Vincennes on and before the year 1783." She, with her children, as heirs of Moses Henry, were accordingly granted a lot in Vincennes "seventy feet by twenty-five toises." [That is to say, 25 fathoms or 150 feet in length].†

* To make matters plainer to the general reader, the above numerous extracts of events since Clark crossed the Wabash, are grouped from Clark and Bowman's narratives.—H. W. B.

† Old grants or land claims at or near Vincennes treated in Vol. XVI American State Papers on Public Lands, etc.—H. W. B.

CHAPTER VIII.

*Clark's Memoir.

1779.

"Everything being ready, on the 5th of February, after receiving a lecture and absolution from the priest, we crossed the Kaskaskia river with one hundred and seventy men; marched about three miles, and encamped, where we lay until the [7th] and set out. The weather wet [but fortunately not cold for the season], and a great part of the plains under water several inches deep. It was difficult and very fatiguing marching.

"My object was now to keep the men in spirits. I suffered them to shoot game on all occasions, and feast on it like Indian war-dancers; each company by turns inviting the others to their feasts; which was the case every night; as the company that was to give the feast was always supplied with horses to lay up a sufficient store of wild meat in the course of the day; myself and principal officers putting on the woodsmen, shouting now and then, and running as much through mud and water as any of them.

"Thus, insensibly, without a murmur, were those men led on to the banks of the Little Wabash ["the two little Wabachees," *vide* in the Mason letter.—H. W. B.] which we reached on the 13th, through incredible difficulties, far surpassing anything that any of us had ever experienced. Frequently the diversions of the night wore off the thoughts of the preceding day. We formed a camp on a height which we found on the bank of the river, and suffered our troops to amuse themselves.

"I viewed this sheet of water for some time with distrust; but, accusing myself of doubting, I immediately set to work, without holding any consolation about it, or suffer-

* Dillon.

ing any body else to do so in my presence; ordered a pirogue to be built immediately, and acted as though crossing the water would be only a piece of diversion. As but few could work at the pirogue, at a time, pains were taken to find diversion for the rest, to keep them in high spirits. In the evening of the 14th our vessel was finished, manned, and sent to explore the drowned lands on the opposite side of the Little Wabash, with private instructions what report to make, and, if possible to find some spot of dry land. They found about half an acre, and marked the trees from thence back to the camp, and made a very favorable report.

"Fortunately, the 15th happened to be a warm, moist day, for the season. The channel of the river where we lay was about thirty yards wide. A scaffold was built on the opposite shore [which was about three feet under water], and our baggage ferried across, and put on it; our horses swam across and received their loads at the scaffold, by which time the troops were also brought across, and we began our march, through the water.

"By evening we found ourselves encamped on a pretty height, in high spirits; each party laughing at the other, in consequence of something that had happened in the course of this ferrying business, as they called it. A little antic drummer afforded them great diversion by floating on his drum, &c.

"All this was greatly encouraged; and they really began to think themselves superior to other men, and that neither the rivers nor the seasons could stop their progress. Their whole conversation now was concerning what they would do when they got about the enemy. They now began to view the main Wabash as a creek, and made no doubt but such men as they were could find a way to cross it. They wound themselves up to such a pitch, that they soon took Post Vincennes, divided the spoil, and before bed-time were

far advanced on their route to Detroit. All this was no doubt pleasing to those of us who had more serious thoughts.

*"We were now convinced that the whole of the low country on the Wabash was drowned, and that the enemy could easily get to us, if they discovered us, and wished to risk an action; if they did not, we made no doubt of crossing the river by some means or other, even if Captain Rogers with our galley, did not get to his station agreeable to his appointment, we flattered ourselves that all would be well, and marched on in high spirits."

Here follows an extract from the manuscript journal of Major Bowman:

"February 16th, 1779.—Marched all day through rain and water. Crossed the Fur river. Our provisions begin to be short.

"17th—Marched early, crossed several runs very deep. Sent Mr. Kernedy [Kennedy], our commissary, with three men, to cross the River Embarrass, if possible, and proceed to a plantation opposite Post Vincennes, in order to steal boats or canoes to ferry us across the Wabash. About an hour by sun we got near the River Embarrass—found the country all overflown with water. We strove to find the Wabash. Travelled till eight o'clock in mud and water, but found no place to encamp on.

"Still keep marching on; but after some time Mr. Kernedy [Kennedy] and his party returned. Found it impossible to cross the Embarrass River. We found the water falling from a small spot of ground. Staid there the remainder of the night. Drizzly and dark weather.

"18th.—At daybreak heard Governor Hamilton's morning gun. Set off, and marched down the river [Embarrass] saw some fine land. About two o'clock came to the bank of the Wabash: made rafts for four men to cross and ge

* See pages 240-245 this volume.

up to town and steal boats. But they spent the day and night in the water to no purpose, for there was not one foot of dry land to be found.

"19th—Captain McCarty's company set to making a canoe; and at three o'clock the four men returned, after spending the night on some logs in the water. The canoe finished, Captain McCarty with three of his men embarked in the canoe and made the next attempt to steal boats; but he soon returned having discovered four large fires about a league distant from our camp; they seemed to be fires of whites and Indians.

"Immediately Colonel Clark sent two men in the canoe down to meet the galley, with orders to come on, day and night; that being our last hope, and [we] starving. Many of the men much cast down—particularly the volunteers. No provision of any sort, now two days. Hard fortune.

"20th—Camp very quiet; but hungry. Some almost in despair. Many of the Creole[French] volunteers talking of returning." Clark now resumes: "Many of our volunteers began, for the first time, to despair. Some talked of returning; but my situation now was such that I was past all uneasiness. I laughed at them without persuading or ordering them to desist from any such attempt; but told them I should be glad if they would go out and kill some deer.

"They went, confused with such conduct. My own troops I knew had no idea of abandoning an enterprise for the want of provisions, while there was plenty of good horses in their possession; and I knew that without any violence, the volunteers could be detained a few days, in the course of which time our fate would be known.

"I conducted myself in a manner that caused the whole to believe that I had no doubt of success, which kept their spirits up." [Clark's MS. Memoir]. Fell to making more canoes, when about twelve o'clock our sentry on the river

brought to, a boat with five Frenchmen from the fort [at Vincennes] who told us we were not as yet discovered—that the inhabitants were well disposed to us, &c. They informed us of two canoes they had seen adrift some distance above us. Ordered that Captain Worthington, with a party, go in search of them. Returned late with one only. One of our men killed a deer, which was brought into camp very acceptably.

"21st—[Bowman's Journal.]—At break of day began to ferry our men over [the Wabash] in two canoes, to a small hill called the Mamelle. Captain Williams, with two men, went to look for a passage, and were discovered by two men in a canoe, but could not fetch them to. The whole army being over, we thought to get to town that night—so plunged into the water, sometimes to the neck, for more than one league, when we stopped on a hill of the same name—there being no dry land on any side for many leagues. Our pilots say we cannot get along—that it is impossible. The whole army being over, we encamped. Rain all this day. No provisions."

The memoir of Clark proceeds: "This last day's march* through the water was far superior to any thing the French had an idea of; they were backward in speaking—said that the nearest land to us was a small league, called the Sugar Camp, on the bank of the [river?]. A canoe was sent off and returned without finding that we could pass. I went in her myself, and sounded the water; found it deep as to my neck. I returned with a design to have the men transported on board the canoes to the Sugar Camp, which I knew would spend the whole day and ensuing night; as the vessels would pass slowly through the bushes.

"The loss of so much time, to men half starved, was a matter of consequence. I would have given now a great deal

* February 21st. By Dillon.

for a day's provision, or for one of our horses. I returned but slowly to the troops—giving myself time to think. On our arrival, all ran to hear what was the report. Every eye was fixed on me.

"I unfortunately spoke in a serious manner to one of the officers; the whole were alarmed without knowing what I said. I viewed their confusion for about one minute—whispered to those near me to do as I did—immediately put some water in my hand, poured on powder, blackened my face, gave the war whoop, and marched into the water without saying a word. The party gazed, and fell in, one after another, without saying a word, like a flock of sheep.

"I ordered those near me to begin a favorite song of theirs; it soon passed through the line, and the whole went on cheerfully. I now intended to have them transported across the deepest part of the water; but when about waist deep one of the men informed me that he thought he felt a path.

"We examined, and found it so; and concluded that it kept on the highest ground, which it did; and by taking pains to follow it, we got to the Sugar Camp, without the least difficulty, where there was about half an acre of dry ground, at least not under water, where we took up our lodging.

"The Frenchmen that we had taken on the river appeared to be uneasy at our situation. They begged that they might be permitted to go in the two canoes to town in the night; they said that they would bring their own house provisions, without a possibility of any persons knowing it —that some of our men should go with them, as a surety of their good conduct—that it was impossible we could

march from that place till the water fell, for the plain was too deep to march. Some of the [officers] believed that it might be done.

"I would not suffer it. I never could well account for this piece of obstinacy, and give satisfactory reasons to myself, or any body else, why I denied a proposition apparently so easy to execute, and of so much advantage; but something seemed to tell me that it should not be done; and it was not done.

"The most of the weather that we had on this march was moist and warm, for the season. This was the coldest night we had. The ice in the morning was from one-half to three quarters of an inch thick, near the shores, and in still water. The morning was the finest we had on our march. A little after sunrise I lectured the whole.

"What I said to them I forgot, but it may be easily imagined by a person that could possess my affections for them at that time. I concluded by informing them that passing the plain that was then in full view and reaching the opposite woods would put an end to their fatigue—that in a few hours they would have a sight of their long-wished-for object—and immediately stepped into the water without waiting for any reply. A huzza took place.

"As we generally marched through the water in a line, before the third entered I halted and called to Major Bowman, ordering him to fall in the rear with twenty-five men, and put to death any man who refused to march, as we wished to have no such person among us. The whole gave a cry of approbation, and on we went.

"This was the most trying of all the difficulties we had experienced. I generally kept fifteen or twenty of the strongest men next myself, and judged from my own feelings what must be that of others. Getting about the middle of the plain, the water about mid-deep, I found myself

sensibly failing, and as there were no trees nor bushes for the men to support themselves by, I feared that many of the most weak would be drowned.

"I ordered the canoes to make the land, discharge their loading, and play backwards and forwards with all diligence, and pick up the men; and to encourage the party, sent some of the strongest men forward with orders when they got to a certain distance, to pass the word back that the water was getting shallow, and when getting near the woods to cry out 'Land!'

"This stratagem had its desired effect. The men, encouraged by it, exerted themselves almost beyond their abilities—the weak holding by the stronger. The water never got shallower, but coninued deepening. Getting to the woods, where the men expected land, the water was up to my shoulders, but gaining the woods was of great consequence; all the low men and the weakly hung to the trees, and floated on the old logs, until they were taken off by the canoes. The strong and tall got ashore and built fires. Many would reach the shore and fall with their bodies half in the water, not being able to support themselves without it.

"This was a delightful dry spot of ground of about ten acres. We soon found that the fires answered no purpose, but that two strong men taking a weaker one by the arms was the only way to recover him, and, being a delightful day, it soon did. But, fortunately, as if designed by Providence, a canoe of Indian squaws and children was coming up to town and took through part of this plain as a nigh way.

"It was discovered by our canoes as they were out after the men. They gave chase and took the Indian canoe, on board of which was near half a quarter of a buffalo, some corn, tallow, kettles, etc.

"This was a grand prize and was invaluable. Broth was immediately made and served out to the most weakly, with great care; most of the whole got a little, but a great many gave their part to the weakly, jocosely saying something cheering to their comrades. This little refreshment and fine weather by the afternoon gave new life to the whole. Crossing a narrow deep lake in the canoes, and marching some distance, we came to a copse of timber called the Warrior's Island.

"We were now in full view of the fort and town, not a shrub between us, at about two miles' distance. Every man now feasted his eyes, and forgot that he had suffered anything—saying all that had passed was owing to good policy, and nothing but what a man should bear; and that a soldier had no right to think &c.—passing from one extreme to another, which is common in such cases.

"It was now we had to display our abilities. The plain between us and the town was not a perfect level. The sunken grounds were covered with water full of ducks. We observed several men out on horseback, shooting them, within a half mile of us, and sent out as many of our active young Frenchmen to decoy and take one of these men, prisoner, in such a manner as not to alarm the others, which they did.

"The information we got from this person was similar to that which we got from those we took on the river, except that of the British having that evening completed the wall of the fort, and that there was a good many Indians in town.

"Our situation was now truly critical—no possibility of retreating in case of defeat—and in full view of a town that had at this time upwards of six hundred men in it, troops, inhabitants and Indians. The crew of the galley, though not fifty men, would have been now a reinforce-

ment of immense magnitude to our little army [if I may so call it], but we would not think of them.

"We were now in the situation that I had labored to get ourselves in. The idea of being made prisoner was foreign to almost every man as they expected nothing but torture from the savages, if they fell into their hands.

"Our fate was now to be determined, probably in a few hours. We knew that nothing but the most daring conduct would insure success. I knew that a number of the inhabitants wished us well—that many were lukewarm to the interest of either—and I also learned that the Grand Chief, the Tobacco's son, had, but a few days before, openly declared in council with the British that he was a brother and friend to the Big Knives.

"These were favorable circumstances, and as there was but little probability of our remaining until dark undiscovered, I determined to begin the career immediately, and wrote the following placard to the inhabitants:

" '*To the Inhabitants of Post Vincennes:*'

" 'Gentlemen—Being now within two miles of your village, with my army, determined to take your fort this night, and not being willing to surprise you, I take this method to request such of you as are true citizens and willing to enjoy the liberty I bring you, to remain still in your houses. And those, if any there be, that are friends to the king, will instantly repair to the fort and join the hair-buyer general, and fight like men. And if any such as do not go to the fort shall be discovered afterwards, they may depend on severe punishment. On the contrary, those who are true friends to liberty may depend on being well treated, and I once more request them to keep out of the streets. For every one I find in arms on my arrival I shall treat him as an enemy.

" '[Signed] G. R. CLARK.

"I had various ideas on the supposed results of this letter. I knew that it could do us no damage, but that it would cause the luke-warm to be decided, encourage our friends, and astonish our enemies. We anxiously viewed this messenger until he entered the town, and in a few minutes could discover by our glasses some stir in every street that we could penetrate into and great numbers running or riding out into the commons, we supposed to view us, which was the case. But what surprised us was that nothing had yet happened that had the appearance of the garrison being alarmed—no drum, nor gun.

"We began to suppose that the information we got from our prisoners was false, and that the enemy already knew of us, and were prepared. A little before sunset we moved and displayed ourselves in full view of the town—crowds gazing at us. We were plunging ourselves into certain destruction, or success.

"There was no mid-way thought of. We had but little to say to our men except inculcating an idea of the necessity of obedience, &c. We knew they did not want encouraging, and that anything might be attempted with them that [was] possible for such a number—perfectly cool, under proper subordination, pleased with the prospect before them, and much attached to their officers.

"They all declared that they were convinced that an implicit obedience to orders was the only thing that would ensure success—and hoped that no mercy would be shown the person that should violate them. Such language as this from soldiers, to persons in our situation, must have been exceedingly agreeable. We moved on slowly in full view of the town; but as it was a point of some consequence to us to make ourselves appear as formidable, we, in leaving the covert that we were in, marched and countermarched in such a manner that we appeared numerous.

"In raising volunteers in the Illinois, every person that set about the business had a set of colors given him, which they brought with them, to the amount of ten or twelve pair. These were displayed to the best advantage; and as the low plain we marched through was not a perfect level, but had frequent raisings in it seven or eight feet higher than the common level, [which was covered with water,] and as these raisings generally run in an oblique direction to the town, we took the advantage of one of them, marching through the water under it, which completely prevented our being numbered; but our colors showed considerably above the heights, as they were fixed on long poles procured for the purpose, and at a distance made no despicable appearance; and as our young Frenchmen had, while we lay on the Warrior's Island, decoyed and taken several fowlers, with their horses, officers were mounted on these horses and rode about more completely to deceive the enemy.

"In this manner we moved, and directed our march in such a way as to suffer it to be dark before we had advanced more than half way to the town. We then suddenly altered our direction, and crossed ponds where they could not have suspected us, and about eight o'clock gained the heights back of the town.

"As there was yet no hostile appearance we were impatient to have the cause unriddled. Lieutenant Bayley was ordered with fourteen men to march and fire on the fort. The main body moved in a different direction, and took possession of the strongest part of the town.

"The firing now commenced on the fort; but they did not believe it was an enemy until one of their men was shot down through a port; as drunken Indians frequently saluted the fort after night. The drums now sounded, and the business fairly commenced on both sides. Reinforce-

ments were sent to the attack of the garrison, while other arrangements were making in town.

"We now found that the garrison had known nothing of us; that having finished the fort that evening they had amused themselves at different games, and had just retired before my letter arrived, as it was near roll-call. The placard being made public, many of the inhabitants were afraid to show themselves out of the houses, for fear of giving offence; and not one dare give information.* Our friends flew to the commons and other convenient places to view the pleasing sight.

"This was observed from the garrison, and the reason asked, but a satisfactory excuse was given; and as a part of the town lay between our line of march and the garrison, we could not be seen by the sentinels on the walls. Captain W. Shannon and another being some time before taken prisoners by one of their [scouting parties] and that evening brought in, the party had discovered at the Sugar camp some signs of us. They supposed it to be a party of observation that intended to land on the height some distance below the town. Captain [William] Lamotte was sent to intercept them. It was at him, the people said they were looking, when they were asked the reason of their unusual stir. Several suspected persons had been taken to the garrison; among them was Mr. Moses Henry. Mrs. Henry went, under the pretence of carrying him provisions, and whispered him the news and what she had seen. Mr. Henry conveyed it to the rest of his fellow prisoners, which gave them much pleasure, particularly Captain Helm, who amused himself very much during the siege, and I believe did much damage.

"Ammunition was scarce with us; as the most of our

* "The town immediately surrendered with joy and assisted at the siege"—Letter dated Kaskaskia, Illinois, April 29, 1779, from Col. Clark to the Governor of Virginia.—Dillon.

stores had been put on board the galley. Though her crew was but few, such a reinforcement to us at this time would have been invaluable in many instances. But, fortunately, at the time of its being reported that the whole of the goods in the town were to be taken for the king's use, [for which the owners were to receive bills]. Colonel [Jean M. LeGras] Legras, Major [Francis] Bosseron, and others, had buried the greatest part of their powder and ball. This was immediately produced; and we found ourselves well supplied by those gentlemen.

"The Tobacco's son being in town with a number of warriors, immediately mustered them, and let us know that he wished to join us, saying that by the morning he would have a hundred men. He received for answer that we thanked him for his friendly disposition; and as we were sufficiently strong ourselves, we wished him to desist, and that we would counsel on the subject in the morning; and as we knew that there were a number of Indians in and near the town that were our enemies, some confusion might happen if our men should mix in the dark; but hoped that we might be favored with his counsel and company during the night—which was agreeable to him.

"The garrison was soon completely surrounded, and the firing continued without intermission, [except about fifteen minutes a little before day,] until about nine o'clock the following morning. It was kept up by the whole of the troops,—joined by a few of the young men of the town, who got permission—except fifty men kept as a reserve.

"I had made myself fully acquainted with the situation of the fort and town, and the parts relative to each. The cannon of the garrison was on the upper floors of blockhouses at each angle of the fort, eleven feet above the surface; and the ports so badly cut that many of our troops lay under the fire of them within twenty or thirty yards of the walls.

"They did no damage except to the buildings of the town, some of which they much shattered; and their musketry, in the dark, employed against woodsmen covered by houses, pailings, ditches, the banks of the river, &c., was but of little avail, and did no injury to us except wounding a man or two. As we could not afford to lose men, great care was taken to preserve them sufficiently covered, and to keep up a hot fire in order to intimidate the enemy as well as to destroy them.

"The embrasures of their cannon were frequently shut, for our riflemen, finding the true direction of them, would pour in such volleys when they were opened that the men could not stand to the guns; seven or eight of them in a short time got cut down. Our troops would frequently abuse the enemy in order to aggravate them to open their ports and fire their cannon, that they might have the pleasure of cutting them down with their rifles—fifty of which perhaps would be leveled the moment the port flew open; and I believe that if they [had] stood at their artillery the part of them would have been destroyed in the course of the night, as the greater part of our men lay within thirty yards of the walls; and in a few hours were covered equally to those within the walls, and much more experienced in that mode of fighting.

"Sometimes an irregular fire, as hot as possible, was kept up from different directions for a few minutes, and then only a continual scattering fire at the ports as usual; and a great noise and laughter immediately commenced in different parts of the town, by the reserved parties, as if they had only fired on the fort a few minutes for amusement; and as if those continually firing at the fort were only regularly relieved.

"Conduct similar to this kept the garrison constantly alarmed. They did not know what moment they might be

stormed [or blown up?] as they could plainly discover that we had flung up some entrenchments across the streets, and appeared to be frequently very busy under the bank of the river, which was within thirty feet of the walls.

"The situation of the magazine we well knew. Captain Bowman began some works in order to blow it up, in case our artillery should arrive; but as we knew that we were daily liable to be overpowered by the numerous bands of Indians on the river, in case they had joined the enemy, [the certainty of which we were unacquainted with,] we resolved to lose no time, but to get the fort in our possession as soon as possible.

"If the vessel did not arrive before the ensuing night we resolved to undermine the fort, and fixed on the spot and plan of executing this work, which we intended to commence the next day.

"The Indians of different tribes that were inimical had left the town and neighborhood. Captain Lamotte [Captain William Lamotte, a noted Canadian and an active British partisan] continued to hover about it, in order, if possible, to make his way good into the fort.

"Some time before, a party of warriors, sent by Mr. Hamilton against Kentucky, [who] had taken two prisoners, was discovered by the Kickapoos, who gave information of them. A party was immediately detached to meet them, which happened in the commons; they conceived our troops to be a party sent by Mr. Hamilton to conduct them in, an honor commonly paid them.

"I was highly pleased to see each party whooping, hallooing and striking each other's breasts as they approached in the open fields; each seemed to try to outdo the other in the greatest signs of joy. The poor devils never discovered their mistake until too late for many of them to

escape. Six of them were made prisoners, two of them scalped, and the rest so wounded, as we afterwards learned, [that] but one lived.

"I had now as fair opportunity of making an impression on the Indians as I could have wished for—that of convincing them that Governor Hamilton could not give them protection that he had made them to believe he could; and, in some measure to incense the Indians against him for not exerting himself to save [their] friends, ordered the prisoners to be tomahawked in the face of the garrison. It had the effect that I expected.

"Instead of making their friends inveterate against us, they upbraided the English parties in not trying to save their friends, and gave them to understand that they believed them to be liars, and no warriors.

"A remarkable circumstance happened that I think worthy our notice. An old French gentleman, of the name of St. Croix, lieutenant of Captain McCarty's Volunteers from Cohos [Kahokia], had but one son, who headed these Indians and was made prisoner. The question was put whether the white man should be saved. I ordered them to put him to death, through indignation, which did not extend to the savages. For fear he would make his escape, his father drew his sword and stood by him in order to run him through in case he should stir; being painted [he] could not know him.

"The wretch, on seeing the executioner's tomahawk raised to give the fatal stroke, raised his eyes as if making his last addresses to heaven, cried 'O, save me!' The father knew the son's voice. You may easily guess of the agitation and behavior of these two persons, coming to the knowledge of each other at so critical a moment.

"I had so little mercy for such murderers, and so valuable an opportunity for an example, knowing there would be

the greatest solicitation made to save him, that I immediately absconded myself; but by the warmest entreaties from his father, who had behaved so exceedingly well in our service, and some of the officers, I granted his life on certain conditions.

"Parties attempted in vain to surprise him. A few others of his party were taken, one of which was Maisonville, [Francis Maisonville, of Kaskaskia], a famous Indian partisan. Two lads that captured him, tied him to a post in the street, and fought from behind him as a breastwork—supposing that the enemy would not fire at them for fear of killing him, as he would alarm them by his voice.

"The lads were ordered, by an officer who discovered them at their amusement, to untie their prisoner, and take him off to the guard, which they did; but were so inhuman as to take part of his scalp on the way; there happened to him no other damage.

"As almost the whole of the persons who were most active in the Department of Detroit, were either in the fort or with Captain Lamotte, I got extremely uneasy, for fear that he would not fall into our power; knowing that he would go off, if he could not get into the fort in the course of the night. Finding that, without some unforeseen accident, the fort must inevitably be ours, and that a reinforcement of twenty men, although considerable to them, would not be of great moment to us in the present situation of affairs, and knowing that we had weakened them by killing or wounding many of their gunners, after some deliberation, we concluded to risk the reinforcement in preference of his going again among the Indians; the garrison had at least a month's provisions, and if they could hold out, in the course of that time he might do us much damage.

"A little before day the troops were withdrawn from their positions about the fort, except a few parties of ob-

servation, and the firing totally ceased. Orders were given, in case of Lamotte's approach, not to alarm or fire on him, without a certainty of killing or taking the whole. In less than a quarter of an hour he passed within ten feet of an officer and a party that lay concealed. Ladders were flung over to them, and as they mounted them our party shouted; many of them fell from the top of the walls—some within, and others back; but as they were not fired on they all got over, much to the joy of their friends.

"But, on considering the matter they must have been convinced that it was a scheme of ours to let them in; and that we were so strong as to care but little about them or the manner of their getting into the garrison.

"The firing immediately commenced on both sides with double vigor; and I believe that more noise could not have been made by the same number of men; their shouts could not be heard for the fire arms; but a continued blaze was kept around the garrison, without much being done, until about daybreak, when our troops were drawn off to posts prepared for them, about sixty or seventy yards from the fort.

"A loop-hole then could scarcely be darkened but a rifle ball would pass through it. To have stood to their cannon would have destroyed their men, without a probability of doing much service. Our situation was nearly similar. It would have been imprudent in either party to have wasted their men, without some decisive stroke required it.

"Thus the attack continued, until about nine o'clock on the morning of the 24th. Learning that the two prisoners they had brought in the day before, had a considerable number of letters with them, I supposed it an express that we expected about this time, which I knew to be of the greatest moment to us, as we had not received one since our arrival in the country; and not being fully acquainted

with the character of our enemy, we were doubtful that those papers might be destroyed; to prevent which, I sent a flag, [with a letter,] demanding the garrison."

The following is a copy of the letter* which was addressed by Colonel Clark to Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, on this occasion:

"Sir: In order to save yourself from the impending storm that now threatens you, I order you immediately to surrender yourself, with all your garrison, stores, &c., &c. For if I am obliged to storm, you may depend on such treatment as is justly due to a murderer. Beware of destroying stores of any kind, or any papers or letters that are in your possession, or hurting one house in town—for, by Heavens! if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you.

[Signed,]
"G. R. CLARK."

The British commandant immediately returned the following answer.

"Lieutenant Governor Hamilton begs leave to acquaint Colonel Clark, that he and his garrison are not disposed to be awed into any action unworthy British subjects."

"The firing, then," says Clark, "commenced warmly for a considerable time; and we were obliged to be careful in preventing our men from exposing themselves too much, as they were now much animated—having been refreshed during the flag.

"They frequently mentioned their wishes to storm the place, and put an end to the business at once. The firing was heavy through every crack that could be discovered in any part of the fort. Several of the garrison got wounded, and no possibility of standing near the embra-

* Extracted from Major Bowman's MS. Journal.—Dillon.

sures. Towards the evening a flag appeared with the following proposals:

"Lieutenant Governor Hamilton proposes to Colonel Clark a truce for three days; during which time he promises there shall be no defensive works carried on in the garrison, on condition that Colonel Clark shall observe on his part, a like cessation of any defensive work; that is, he wishes to confer with Colonel Clark as soon as can be; and promises that whatever may pass between them two, and another person mutually agreed upon to be present, shall remain secret till matters be finished, as he wishes; that whatever the result of the conference may be, it may tend to the honor and credit of each party. If Colonel Clark makes a difficulty of coming into the fort, Lieutenant Governor Hamilton will speak to him by the gate.

[Signed,]

"HENRY HAMILTON.

"24th February, '79."

"I was at a great loss to conceive what reason Lieutenant Governor Hamilton could have for wishing a truce of three days, on such terms as he proposed. Numbers said it was a scheme to get me into their possession. I had a different opinion, and no idea of his possessing such sentiments; as an act of that kind would infallibly ruin him.

"Although we had the greatest reason to expect a reinforcement in less than three days that would at once put an end to the siege, I yet did not think it prudent to agree to the proposals; and sent the following answer:

"Colonel Clark's compliments to Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, and begs leave to inform him that he will not agree to any terms other than Mr. Hamilton's surrendering himself and garrison, prisoners at discretion. If

Mr. Hamilton is desirous of a conference with Colonel Clark, he will meet him at the church, with Captain Helm.

"[Signed] G. R. C.

"February 24th, '79."

"We met at the church* about eighty yards from the fort—Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, Major [John] Hay, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Captain Helm their prisoner, Major Bowman and myself. The conference began. Hamilton produced terms of capitulation, signed, that contained various articles, one of which was that the garrison should be surrendered, on their being permitted to go to Pensacola on parole. After deliberating on every article, I rejected the whole. He then wished that I would make some proposition.

"I told him that I had no other to make, than what I had already made—that of his surrendering as prisoners at discretion. I said that his troops had behaved with spirit—that they could not suppose that they would be worse treated in consequence of it—that if he chose to comply with the demand, though hard, perhaps the sooner the better—that it was in vain to make any proposition to me—that he, by this time, must be sensible that the garrison would fall—that both of us must [view?] all blood spilt for the future by the garrison as murder—that my troops were already impatient, and called aloud for per-

* During the conference at the church, some Indian warriors who had been sent to the falls of the Ohio, for scalps and prisoners, were discovered on their return, as they entered the plains near Post Vincennes. A party of the American troops, commanded by Captain Williams, went out to meet them. The Indians, who mistook this detachment for a party of their friends, continued to advance "with all the parade of successful warriors." "Our men," says Major Bowman, "killed two men on the spot, wounded three, took six prisoners and brought them into town. Two of them proving to be whites, we released them, and brought the Indians to the main street, before the fort gate, there tomahawked them, and threw them into the river."—Major Bowman's Ms. Journal.—Dillon.

mission to tear down and storm the fort; if such a step was taken, many of course would be cut down; and the result of an enraged body of woodsmen breaking in, must be obvious to him; it would be out of the power of an American officer to save a single man.

"Various altercations took place for a considerable time. Captain Helm attempted to moderate our fixed determination. I told him he was a British prisoner, and it was doubtful whether or not he could with propriety speak on the subject.

"Hamilton then said that Captain Helm was from that moment liberated, and might use his pleasure. I informed the Captain that I would not receive him on such terms —that he must return to the garrison and await his fate. I then told Lieut.-Governor Hamilton that hostilities should not commence until five minutes after the drums gave the alarm.

"We took our leave, and parted but a few steps, when Hamilton stopped, and politely asked me if I would be so kind as to give him my reasons for refusing the garrison on any other terms than those I had offered.

"I told him I had no objections in giving him my real reasons, which were simply these: that I knew the greater part of the principal Indian partisans of Detroit were with him—that I wanted an excuse to put them to death, or otherwise treat them, as I thought proper—that the cries of the widows and the fatherless on the frontiers, which they had occasioned, now required their blood from my hands, and that I did not choose to be so timorous as to disobey the absolute commands of their authority, which I looked upon to be next to divine; that I would rather lose fifty men, than not to empower myself to execute this piece of business with propriety; that if he chose to risk the massacre of his garrison for their sakes, it was his own

pleasure; and that I might perhaps take it into my head to send for some of those widows to see it executed.

"Major Hay [John Hay of Detroit], paying great attention, I had observed a kind of distrust in his countenance, which in a great measure influenced my conversation during this time. On my concluding, "Pray sir," said he, "who is it that you call Indian partisans?" "Sir," I replied, "I take Major Hay to be one of the principal."

In this connection the editor here will introduce a short paragraph from the Journal of John Leith, who at the time in question, was restrained more a prisoner than a free man, at Detroit, whither he had been taken on account of his sympathy with the Americans while a trader among the Indians. He says: "One day, while detained at the fort, I observed some soldiers drawing cannon out of the fort and placing them on the banks of the river. While I was ruminating in my mind, what could be the meaning of this singular manoeuvre, a young silversmith, with whom I was intimately acquainted, came and asked me to walk with him and see them fire the cannon. I walked with him to the place where they had carried them. When we arrived there we found Governor Hamilton and several other British officers who were standing and sitting around.

"Immediately after our arrival at the place, the Indians produced a large quantity of scalps, the cannon fired, the Indians raised a shout and the soldiers waved their hats, with huzzas and tremendous shrieks, which lasted some time.

"This ceremony being ended, the Indians brought forward a parcel of American prisoners, as a trophy of their victories; among whom were eighteen women and children, poor creatures; dreadfully mangled and emaciated; with their clothes tattered and torn to pieces, in such a manner as not to hide their nakedness; their legs bare and streaming with blood; the effects of being torn with thorns, briars and brush.

"To see these poor people dragged, like sheep to the slaughter along the British lines, caused my heart to shrink with throbbings and my hair to raise with rage; and if ever I committed murder in my heart, [Mr. Leith being a very religious man] it was then; for if I had had the opportunity, and had been supported with strength, I certainly should have killed the Governor, who seemed to take great delight in the exhibition. My business hurried me from this horrible scene, and I know not what became of those poor wretches who were the miserable victims of savage power."—H. W. B.

"I never saw a man," continues Clark, "in the moment of execution so struck as he appeared to be—pale and trembling, scarcely able to stand. Hamilton blushed—and, I observed was much affected at his behavior. Major Bowman's countenance sufficiently explained his disdain for the one and his sorrow for the other.

"Some moments elapsed without a word passing on either side. From that moment my resolutions changed respecting Hamilton's situation. I told him that we would return to our respective posts; that I would reconsider the matter, and let him know the result; no offensive measures should be taken in the meantime. Agreed to; and we parted. What had passed being made known to our officers, it was agreed that we should moderate our resolutions."

"In the course of the afternoon of the 24th, the following articles* were signed, and the garrison capitulated:

"I. Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton engages to deliver up to Colonel Clark, Fort Sackville, as it is at present, with all the stores, &c.

"II. The garrison are to deliver themselves as prisoners of war; and march out with their arms and accoutrements, &c.

* Major Bowman's MS. Journal. Dillon.

"III. The garrison to be delivered up at ten o'clock tomorrow.

"IV. Three days' time to be allowed the garrison to settle their accounts with the inhabitants and traders of this place.

"V. The officers of the garrison to be allowed their necessary baggage, &c.

"Signed at Post St. Vincent [Vincennes], 24th Feb'y, 1779.

"Agreed for the following reasons: The remoteness from succor; the state and quantity of provisions, &c., unanimity of officers and men in its expediency; the honorable terms allowed; and lastly, the confidence in a generous enemy.

"[Signed] HENRY HAMILTON,
"Lt.-Gov. and Superintendent."

"The business being now nearly at an end, troops were posted in several strong houses around the garrison, and patroled during the night to prevent any deception that might be attempted. The remainder on duty lay on their arms; and, for the first time for many days past, got some rest.

"During the seige I got only one man wounded; not being able to lose many, I made them secure themselves well. Seven were badly wounded in the fort, through ports. Almost every man had conceived a favorable opinion of Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton—I believe what affected myself made some impression on the whole—and I was happy to find that he never deviated, while he stayed with us, from that dignity of conduct that became an officer in his situation. The morning of the 25th approaching, arrangements were made for receiving the garrison [which consisted of seventy-nine men], and about ten o'clock it

was delivered in form; and everything was immediately arranged to the best advantage.

"On the 27th our galley arrived, all safe—the crew much mortified, although they deserved great credit for their diligence. They had on their passage taken up William Myers, express from [the Virginia] government. The despatches gave much encouragement; our own battalion was to be completed, and an additional one to be expected in the course of the spring."

The editor here has omitted the summary of Mr. Dillon, in his paragraph at the beginning of Chapter Nine of his historical notes, and substituted instead, the following and fuller extracts from General Clark's Memoirs:

He says that "finding that ten boats loaded with goods and provisions were daily expected down the Wabash, and for fear the British who had them in charge would get the intelligence and return, on the 26th, Captain Helm, and Majors Francis Bosseron and Legras, with fifty volunteers, were sent in three armed boats in pursuit of them.

"March 5th, Captain Helm, Major Bosseron and Major Legras returned from their journey up the river with great success. They came up with the enemy in the night, discerning their fires at a distance; waited until all was quiet; surrounded and took the whole prisoners without firing a gun.

"Those gentlemen were off their guard, and so little apprehensive of an enemy in that part of the world, that they could hardly persuade themselves that what they saw was real. This was a valuable [prize]—seven boats loaded with provisions and goods to a considerable amount. The provisions were taken for the public, and the goods divided among the whole of them [i. e., Clark's men] except eight hundred pounds' worth of cloth. This was very agreeable to the soldiers, as I told them that the State

would pay them in money their proportions, and that they had great plenty of goods. This reservation was a very valuable idea, for [our recruits coming in] on their arrival, what few there were of them [were] almost entirely naked."

The editor of this publication has a manuscript autobiography taken down by himself, of the late John McFall, who was born near Vincennes in 1798, where he lived until 1817. He told the editor that his grandfather, Ralph Mattison, was one of General Clark's soldiers who went up the Wabash with Captain Helm to intercept this convoy, and who often told McFall, his grandson, that Helm's forces found the British convoy laying in the mouth of the Big Vermilion river, and surprised them in the night time and took them without firing a shot.—H. W. B.

"We yet found ourselves," says Clark, "uneasy. The number of prisoners we had taken, added to those of the garrison, was so considerable when compared to our own numbers, that we were at a loss how to dispose of them, so as not to interfere with our future operations.

"Detroit opened full in our view. In the fort at that place there were not more than eighty men—a great part of them invalids—and we were informed that many of the principal inhabitants were disaffected to the British cause. The Indians on our route we knew would now more than ever be cool towards the English.

"We could now augment our forces in this quarter to about four hundred men, as near half the inhabitants of Post Vincennes would join us. Kentucky, we supposed, could immediately furnish two hundred men, as there was a certainty of receiving a great addition of settlers in the spring. With our own stores, which we had learned were safe on their passage, added to those of the British, there

would not be a single article wanting for an expedition against Detroit.

"We privately resolved to embrace the object that seemed to court our acceptance, without delay—giving the enemy no time to recover from the blows that they had received; but we wished it to become the object of the soldiery and the inhabitants before we should say anything about it.

"It immediately became the common topic among them; and in a few days they had arranged things, so that they were, in their imaginations, almost ready to march. They were discountenanced in such conversation, and such measures were taken as tended to show that our ideas were foreign from such an attempt; but at the same time we were taking every step to pave our way.

"The quantity of public goods brought from Detroit added to the whole of those belonging to the traders of Post Vincennes, that had been taken, was very considerable. The whole was divided among the soldiery, except some Indian medals that were kept, in order to be altered for public use.

"The officers received nothing, except a few articles of clothing that they stood in need of. The soldiers got almost rich. Others envied their good fortune, and wished that some enterprise might be undertaken, to enable them to perform some exploit. Detroit was their object. The clamor had now got to a great height; to silence it, and to answer other purposes, they were told that an army was to march the ensuing summer from Pittsburgh to take possession of Detroit.

"On the 7th of March Captains Williams and Rogers set out by water with a party of twenty-five men, to conduct the British officers to Kentucky; and, farther to weaken the prisoners, eighteen privates were also sent. After their arrival at the Falls of the Ohio, Captain Rogers had in-

structions to superintend their route to Williamsburgh, to furnish them with all necessary supplies on the way, and to await the orders of the Governor.

"Poor Myers, the express, who set out on the 15th, got killed on his passage, and his packet fell into the hands of the enemy; but I had been so much on my guard that there was not a sentence in it that could be of any disadvantage to us for the enemy to know; and there were private letters from soldiers to their friends, designedly written to deceive in case of such accidents.

"This was customary with us as our expresses were frequently surprised. I sent a second dispatch to the Governor, giving him a short but full account of what had passed, and our views. I sent letters to the commandant of Kentucky, directing him to give me a certain but private account of the number of men he could furnish in June.

"Early in the month of March, I laid before the officers my plans for the reduction of Detroit, and explained the almost certainty of success, and the probability of keeping possession of it until we could receive succor from the States.

"If we awaited the arrival of the troops mentioned in the despatches from the Governor of Virginia, the enemy in the meantime might get strengthened; and probably we might not be so capable of carrying the [post] with the expected reinforcement, as we should be with our present force, in case we were to make the attempt at this time; and in case we should be disappointed in the promised reinforcement, we might not be able to effect it at all.

"There were various arguments made use of on this delicate point. Every person seemed anxious to improve the present opportunity; but prudence appeared to for-

bid the execution, and induced us to wait for the reinforcement. The arguments that appeared to have the greatest weight were, that with such a force we might march boldly through the Indian nations—that it would make a great [impression] on them, as well as the inhabitants of Detroit, and have a better effect than if we were now to slip off, and take the place with so small a force, —that the British would not wish to weaken Niagara by sending any considerable reinforcements to Detroit—that it was more difficult for that post to get succor from Canada, than it was for us to receive it from the States—that the garrison at Detroit would not be able to get a reinforcement in time to prevent our executing our designs, as we might with propriety expect ours in a few weeks;—in short, the enterprise was deferred until the — of June, when our troops were to rendezvous at Post Vincennes.

"In the meantime every preparation was to be made, procuring provisions, &c.—and, to blind our designs, the whole, except a small garrison, should march immediately to the Illinois; and orders were sent to Kentucky to prepare themselves to meet at the appointed time. This was now our proposed plan, and directed our operations during the spring.

"A company of volunteers from Detroit, mostly composed of young men, was drawn up; and when expecting to be sent off into a strange country, they were told that we were happy to learn that many of them were torn from their fathers and mothers and forced on this expedition; others, ignorant of the true cause in contest, had engaged from a principle that actuates a great number of men, that of being fond of enterprise; but that they now had a good opportunity to make themselves fully acquainted with the nature of the war, which they might explain to their friends—and that as we knew that send-

ing them to the States, where they would be confined in jail probably for the course of the war, would make a great number of our friends at Detroit unhappy, we had thought proper, for their sakes, to suffer them to return home, &c. A great deal more was said to them on this subject.

"On the whole they were discharged on taking an oath not to bear arms against America until exchanged. They received an order for their arms, boats, and provisions, to return with; the boats were to be sold and divided among them when they got home. In a few days they set out; and as we had spies who went among them as traders, we learned that they made great havoc to the British interest, on their return to Detroit—publicly saying that they had taken an oath not to fight against Americans, but they had not sworn not to fight for them, &c.—and matters were carried to such a height that the commanding officer thought it prudent not to take notice of anything that was said or done.

"Mrs. McComb, who kept a noted boarding house, I understand, had the assurance to show him the stores she had provided for the Americans. This was the completion of our design in suffering the company to return. Many others that we could trust, we suffered to enlist in the cause; so that our charge of prisoners was much reduced.

"I had yet sent no message to the Indian tribes, wishing to wait to see what effect all this would have on them. The Piankeshaws, being of the tribe of the Tobacco's Son, were always familiar with us. Part of the behavior of this grandee, as he viewed himself, was diverting enough. He had conceived such an inviolable attachment for Captain Helm, that on finding that the Captain was a prisoner, and not being as yet able to release him, he declared himself a prisoner also. He joined his brother, as he called Captain Helm, and continually kept with him, condoling

their condition as prisoners in great distress—at the same time wanting nothing that was in the power of the garrison to furnish.

"Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, knowing the influence of Tobacco's son, was extremely jealous of his behavior, and took every pains to gain him by presents, &c. When any thing was presented to him, his reply would be that it would serve him and his brother to live on.

"He would not enter into council, saying that he was a prisoner and had nothing to say; but was in hopes that when the grass grew, his brother, the Big Knife, would release him; and when he was free, he could talk, &c.

"In short, they could do nothing with him; and the moment he heard of our arrival, he paraded all the warriors he had in his village [joining Post Vincennes], and was ready to fall in and attack the fort; but for reasons formerly mentioned, he was desired to desist.

"On the 15th of March, 1779, a party of upper Piankeshaws [of the Vermilion] and some Pottawattamie and Miami chiefs [of the upper Wabash] made their appearance, making great protestations of their attachment to the Americans; begged that they might be taken under the cover of our wings, and that the roads through the lands might be made straight, and all the stumbling blocks removed; and that their friends, the neighboring nations, might also be considered in the same point of view.

"I well knew from what principle all this sprung; and, as I had Detroit now in my eye, it was my business to make a straight and clear road for myself to walk, without thinking much of their interest, or anything else but that of opening the road in earnest, by flattery, deception, or any other means that occurred. I told them that I was glad to see them, and was happy to learn that most of the nations on the Wabash and Omi [Maumee] rivers had

proved themselves to be men, by adhering to the treaties they had made with the Big Knife last fall, except a few weak minds that had been deluded by the English to come to war—that I did not know exactly who they were, nor much cared; but understood they were a band chiefly composed of almost all the tribes—such people were to be found among all nations—but as these kind of people, who had the meanness to sell their country for a shirt, were not worthy of the attention of warriors, we would say no more about them, and think on subjects more becoming us.

"I told them that I should let the great Council of Americans know of their good behavior, and knew that they would be counted as friends of the Big Knife, and would be always under their protection, and their country secured to them, as the Big Knife had land enough, and did not want any more;—but, if ever they broke their faith, the Big Knife would never again trust them, as they never hold friendship with a people that they find with two hearts;—that they were witnesses of the calamities the British had brought on their countries by their false assertions, and their presents, which was a proof of their weakness; that they saw that all their boasted valor was like to fall to the ground, and they would not come out of the fort, the other day, to try to save the Indians that they flattered to war, and suffered to be killed [at Vincennes] in their sight; and, as the nature of the war had been fully explained to them last fall, they might clearly see that the Great Spirit would not suffer it to be otherwise—that it was not only the case on the Wabash, but everywhere else—that they might be assured that the nations that would continue obstinately to believe the English, would be driven out of the land, and their countries given to those who were more steady friends to the Americans.

"I told them that I expected, for the future, that if any of my people should be going to war through their country, that they would be protected, which should be always the case with their people when among us; and that mutual confidence should continue to exist, &c., &c.

"They replied, that from what they had seen and heard, they were convinced that the Master of Life had a hand in all things—that their people would rejoice on their return—that they would take pains to diffuse what they had heard, through all the nations, and made no doubt of the good effect of it, &c.—and after a long speech in the Indian style, calling all the Spirits to be witnesses, they concluded by renewing the chain of friendship, smoking the sacred pipe, exchanging belts, &c., and I believe, went off really well pleased—[but not able to fathom the bottom of all they had heard, the greatest part of which was mere political lies]—for, the ensuing summer, Captain Shelby, with his own company only, lay for a considerable time in the Wea town [of Ouitanon] in the heart of their country, and was treated in the most friendly manner by all the natives that he saw; and was frequently invited by them to join and plunder what was called 'the King's Pasture at Detroit.' What they meant was to go and steal horses from that settlement.

"Things being now pretty well arranged, Lieutenant Richard Brashear was appointed to the command of the garrison, which consisted of Lieutenants Bayley and Chapline, with forty picked men—Captain Leonard Helm, commandant of the town, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, &c. —Moses Henry, Indian Agent, and Patrick Kennedy, Quartermaster. Giving necessary instruction to all persons that I left in office, on the 20th of March I set sail on board of our galley, which was now made perfectly complete, attended by five armed boats, and seventy men.

"The waters being very high, we soon reached the Mississippi; and the winds favoring us, in a few days we arrived safely at Kaskaskia, to the great joy of our new friends, Captain George and company waiting to receive us.

"On our passage up the Mississippi we had observed several Indian camps, which appeared to us fresh, but had been left in great confusion. This we could not account for, but were now informed that a few days past a party of Delaware warriors came to town [Kaskaskia] and appeared to be very impudent—that in the evening, having been drinking, they said they had come there for scalps and would have them, and flashed a gun at the breast of an American woman present.

"A sergeant and party that moment passing by the house, saw the confusion and rushed in; the Indians immediately fled; the sergeant pursued and killed [some] of them. A party was instantly sent to rout their camps on the river. This was executed the day before we came up, which was the sign we had seen.

"Part of the Delaware nation had settled a town at the forks of the White River, and hunted in the countries on the Ohio and Mississippi. They had, on our first arrival, hatched up a kind of peace with us; but I always knew they were for open war; but never before could get a proper excuse for exterminating them from the country, which I knew they would be loath to leave, and that the other Indians wished them away, as they were great hunters and killed up their game.

"A few days after this, Captain Helm informed me, by express, that a party of traders who were going by land to the falls, were killed and plundered by the Delawares of White River—and that it appeared that their designs were altogether hostile, as they had received a belt from the great council of their nation.

"I was sorry for the loss of our men; otherwise pleased at what had happened; as it would give me an opportunity of showing the other Indians the horrid fate of those who would dare to make war on the Big Knife—and to excel them in barbarity I knew was, and is, the only way to make war and gain a name among the Indians.

"I immediately sent orders to Post Vincennes to make war on the Delawares—to use every means in their power to destroy them—to show no kind of mercy to the men; but to spare the women and children. This order was executed without delay; their camps were attacked in every quarter where they could be found—many fell, and others were brought to Post Vincennes and put to death—the women and children secured, &c.

"They immediately applied for reconciliation; but were informed that I had ordered the war—and that they dare not lay down the tomahawk without permission from me; but if the Indians were agreed, no more blood should be spilt until an express should go to Kaskaskia, which was immediately sent.

"I refused to make peace with the Delawares, and let them know that we never trusted those who had once violated their faith; but that if they had a mind to be quiet, they might; and if they could get any of the neighboring Indians to be security for their good behavior, I would let them alone; but that I cared very little about it, &c.—privately directing Captain Helm how to manage.

"A council was called of all the Indians in the neighborhood; my answer was made public; the Piankeshaws took on themselves to answer for the future good conduct of the Delawares; and the Tobasco's Son, in a long speech, informed them of the baseness of their conduct, and how richly they had deserved the severe blow they had met with—that he had given them permission to settle that

country, but not to kill his friends—that they now saw the Big Knife had refused to make peace with them; but that he had become surety for their good conduct, and that they might go and mind their hunting—and that if they ever did any more mischief—pointing to the sacred bow that he held in his hand—which was as much as to say that he himself would for the future chastise them.

"Thus ended the war between us and the Delawares in this quarter much to our advantage; as the nations about said that we were as brave as the Indians and not afraid to put an enemy to death.

"June being the time for the rendezvous at Post Vincennes, every exertion was made in procuring provisions of every species, and making other preparations. I received an express from Kentucky, wherein Colonel [John] Bowman informed me that he could furnish three hundred good men.

"We were now going on in high spirits, and daily expecting troops down the Tennessee; when, on the —, we were surprised at the arrival of Colonel Montgomery with one hundred and fifty men only—which was all we had a right to expect from that quarter in a short time, as the recruiting business went on but slowly; and for the first time, we learned the fall of our paper money. Things immediately put on a different appearance.

"We now lamented that we did not march from Post Vincennes to Detroit; but as we had a prospect of a considerable reinforcement from Kentucky, we yet flattered ourselves that something might be done; at least we might manœuvre in such a manner as to keep the enemy in hot water, and in suspense, and prevent their doing our frontiers much damage. We went on with procuring supplies.

"There is one circumstance very distressing, that of our money's being discredited, to all intents and purposes, by the great number of traders who come here in my absence, each outbidding the other, giving prices unknown in this country by five hundred per cent, by which the people conceived it to be of no value, and both French and Spaniards refused to take a farthing of it. Provision is three times the price it was two months past, and to be got by no other means than my own bonds, goods, or force.

"Several merchants are now advancing considerable sums of their own property rather than the service should suffer, by which I am sensible they must lose greatly, unless some method is taken to raise the credit of our coin, or a fund to be sent to Orleans for the payment of the expenses of this place,* and did not yet lose sight of our object; and, in order to feel the pulse of the enemy, I detached Major [Godebory Lienetot, a French citizen of Vincennes] who had lately joined us, and a company of volunteers, up the Illinois river—under the pretence of visiting our friends; he was instructed to cross the country, and call at the Wea towns, and then proceed to Post Vincennes, making his observations on the route. This we expected would perfectly cover our designs; and if we saw prudent, we might on his return proceed. Early in June Colonel Montgomery was despatched by water with the whole of our stores; Major [Joseph] Bowman marched the remainder of our troops by land. Myself, with a party of horse, reached Post Vincennes in four days, where the whole safely arrived in a short time after.

"Instead of three hundred men from Kentucky, there appeared about thirty volunteers, commanded by Capt.

* Letter dated Kaskaskia, April 29, 1779, from Col. G. R. Clark to the Governor of Virginia.—Jefferson's correspondence, i. 454.—Dillon.

McGary. The loss of the expedition was too obvious to hesitate about it. Colonel [John] Bowman had turned his attention against the Shawanees towns, and got repulsed, and his men discouraged.

"The business, from the first had been so conducted as to make no disadvantageous impression on the enemy, in case of a disappointment as they could never know whether we really had a design on Detroit or only a finesse to amuse them, which latter would appear probable. Arranging things to the best advantage was now my principal study. The troops were divided between Post Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and the Falls of Ohio. Colonel Montgomery was appointed to the command of the Illinois; Major Bowman to superintend the recruiting business; a number of officers were appointed to that service; and myself [and Major Lienetot] to take up my quarters at the falls, as the most convenient spot to have an eye over the whole."

Thus closes the detail of Colonel Clark's proceedings at Post Vincennes.

CHAPTER X.

By Dillon.—During the years 1779 and 1780, many causes contributed to attract a great number of emigrants from the interior of Virginia, and from other States, to the fertile district of Kentucky. (Three hundred large family boats arrived at the Falls of the Ohio, during the spring of 1780. [Butler's History of Kentucky, 99.]—Dillon). Among these causes it is proper to reckon the achievements of Colonel Clark in the west, the temporary triumph of the British arms in some of the Southern States, and the munificent spirit in which the government of Virginia invited adventurous families to take possession of the rich unappropriated lands which it claimed in the regions west of the Allegheny mountains.

The danger which surrounded the first English settlers in these regions began to abate. The ancient French inhabitants of the new county of Illinois had taken the oath of allegiance to the State of Virginia.

In July, 1778, the Congress of the United States directed Brigadier-General McIntosh to collect at Pittsburgh a force of fifteen hundred men for the defence of the westren frontiers; and on the 17th of September, 1778, a treaty of peace, friendship, and alliance was concluded at Fort Pitt, between commissioners in behalf of the United States, and the chief men and deputies of the Delaware nation of Indians.*

* Laws United States, i. 302.—Dillon.

In the spring of 1779, Colonel John Todd* bearing the commission of county lieutenant for the County of Illinois, visited Post Vincennes and Kaskaskia for the purpose of organizing a temporary government according to the provisions of the act of the General Assembly of Virginia, of October, 1778. On the 15th of June, 1779, Mr. Todd issued the following proclamation:

"Illinois [County] to-wit: Whereas, from the fertility and beautiful situation of the lands bordering upon the Mississippi, Ohio, Illinois, and Wabash rivers, the taking up the usual quantity of land heretofore allowed for a settlement by the government of Virginia, would injure both the strength and commerce of this country—I do, therefore, issue this proclamation, strictly enjoining all persons whatsoever from making any new settlements upon the flat lands of the said rivers, or within one league of said lands, unless in manner and form of settlements as heretofore made by the French inhabitants, until further orders herein given.

"And in order that all the claims to lands in said county may be fully known, and some method provided for perpetuating by record the just claims, every inhabitant is required as soon as conveniently may be, to lay before the person in each district appointed for that purpose, a memorandum of his or her land, with copies of all their vouchers; and where vouchers have never been given, or are lost, such depositions or certificates as will tend to support their claims,—the memorandum to mention the quantity of land, to whom originally granted, and when—deducing the title through the various occupants to the present possessor.

"The number of adventurers who will shortly overrun

* The same who later was killed at the battle of Blue Licks, Aug. 19, 1782.—H. W. B.

this country renders the above method necessary as well to ascertain the vacant lands as to guard against trespasses which will probably be committed on lands not of record.

"Given under my hand and seal at Kaskaskia, the 15th of June, in the third year of the Commonwealth, 1779.

"JOHN TODD, JR."

For the preservation of peace and the administration of justice a court of civil and criminal jurisdiction was instituted at Post Vincennes, in June, 1779. The court was composed of several magistrates. Colonel J. M. P. Legras, having been appointed commandant of the town, acted as president of the court, and in some cases exercised a controlling influence over its proceedings.

Adopting in some measure the usages and customs of the early French commandants, the magistrates of the Court of Post Vincennes began to grant or concede tracts of land to the French and American inhabitants of the town, and to different civil and military officers of the country. Indeed it appears that the court assumed the power of granting lands to every applicant.

Before the year 1783, about twenty-six thousands acres of land were granted to different individuals. From 1783 to 1787, when the practice was stopped by General Harmar, the grants amounted to twenty-two thousand acres.* They were given in tracts varying in quantities from four hundred acres to the size of a house lot.

Besides these small concessions there were some grants of tracts several leagues square. The commandant and magistrates, after having exercised this power for some time began to believe that they had the right to dispose

* Letter written in 1790 from Winthrop Sargent to George Washington. Letter dated Vincennes, January 19, 1802, from Gov. Harrison to James Madison.—Jefferson's correspondence, 1-163. The above group of notes are by Dillon.

of all that large tract of land which, in 1742, had been granted by the Piankeshaw Indians, for the use of the French inhabitants of Post Vincennes.

"Accordingly an arrangement was made, by which the whole country to which the Indian title was supposed to be extinguished, was divided between the members of the court, and orders to that effect entered on their journal; each member absenting himself from the Court on the day that the order was to be made in his favor, so that it might appear to be the act of his fellows only."

By the Editor.—Meanwhile the partisans of Detroit with such savages as they could still hold to their allegiance, carried on more organized attacks on Kentucky, whose people in large force, made several incursions against the Shawnees in Ohio and burned their villages on Mud River and the Miamis.

Nor did this war end with that of the Revolution; but the Virginians and French of the Illinois held the country involved until it was conceded to us by the treaty of peace with Great Britain.

The great statesman, Jefferson, early foresaw what might be the result of Clark's campaign, saying it "would, if successful, have an important bearing ultimately in establishing the northwestern boundary." And it did.—H. W. B.

*CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 5, P. 73.

[GAGE TO HALDIMAND.]

NEW YORK March 16, 1772.

SIR—I have now the satisfaction to acquaint you that it is His Majesty's pleasure the battery should be completed and made durable, and that barracks should be built for the troops at Pensacola.

With regard to the batteries, I believe there is nothing more to be done to make them lasting but to pile their foundations and to face them with masonry.

I have further considered your proposal to build block houses for lodging the troops, and to raise a building for the officers of the Regiment and those at the Garrison. I believe upon the whole it will be the best method, but the block houses should be made as airy as possible and not crowded with too many men. You will find in the roll which is sent by this opportunity, a draught of a block house of Captain Sowers' invention, to let in air, which if you approve of and nothing better can be contrived you will order to be executed. And that the men may have room sufficient, I propose a seventh block house, as you will observe in the plan sent you. But if you judge it useless, you will act for the best.

I don't think we could build block houses cheaper than those made at the batteries and should be glad you would direct the Engineer to make the same contract for those

* The following letters [pages 290-457] are literal copies taken from letters in the Canadian Archives at Ottawa.

that are to be built as was made for the others. But if the situation of Pensacola is more favourable than that of the harbour for bringing materials or finding workmen, in that case an abatement should be made in the price. They must be built of seasonable timber and the sooner they are begun the better.

A plan of the building proposed for the officers of the Regiment and Garrison is also sent herewith, and we must begin it and finish it as soon as we can.

You will be so good to order the Engineer to prepare the lime and brick for the foundation, chimines [chimneys], &c., and if he can begin the foundation the better, and he will send information immediately of the number of masons you will want from this place and what time they should be with you.

The timber for this building should be well seasoned. Capt. Sowers tells me you had a great deal of timber cut, but that it may have been applied to other purposes. If it is expended, more timber must be procured, and cut at the time of year when the sap is down. You see that we shall want information also in this respect, and to know what number of carpenters will be required from this place and the time they should be at Pensacola.

You will order Lieut. Hutchins to draw bills upon the Chief Engineer for the expenses attending these works, but all his drafts must first have your approbation, and all his accounts also approved by you. This method will be regular and save me a deal of trouble.

The fate of Fort Chartres is decided. It will be abandoned and a body of troops posted at Kashaskies. I believe nothing useful could be sent you from thence that would bear the expense of carriage to Pensacola. There is

a galley said to be good and well contrived, but I don't know if she could go by sea from the Mississippi to Pensacola.

Lieutenant Hutchins can give you the best information about it.

I am with great regard and esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

THOS. GAGE.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL HALDIMAND,

Pensacola.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 69, P. 270.

N. ORLEANS, July 6, 1772.

[WILLING TO HALDIMAND].

SIR—At the request of my Brother, Thomas Willing, Esq., of Philadelphia I have taken the liberty of addressing you to acquaint you with my arrival here with a barge of goods suitable to the Indian Ilinois trade, for account of Messrs. Willing & Morris & Co., and finding since my arrival that Major H. Hamilton and the troops had destroyed Fort Chartis and abandoned it with all the troops except fifty men who remained to protect the Inhabitants until they could remove their effects, I think it most prudent to form some plan for the Benefit of the Company, and I being assured by my Brother that I might rely on your friendship and protection, &c., have to request of you to get me a permission to trade and settle a Plantation and Place of Trade upon the River Pearlat, 9 or 10 leagues from New Orleans on the English side of the Lake.

I propose setting off tomorrow with my goods to Manshack and there to stay with my goods untill further hear from you, or get permission, the last of which your friend T. W. will gladly pay. Should there be any security necessary, W. & Morris will be security, or I make no doubt you'll receive or have received from my Brother mentioning me to you; if so, I hope there will be no difficulty, as you'll

undoubtedly grant him that fav'r. Should be glad of a line from you with a letter of Recommendation to the Officers up the River under your Command, will oblige your

Very h'mble Servant, &c.,

JAMES WILLING.

TO BRIGADIER GENERAL HALDIMAND,

At Pensacola.

Endorsed: James Willing, July 6, '72.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 185, P. 2.

[BENTLEY TO CARLETON].

Illinois Pt.

To His Excellency, General Carlton, Governor of the Province of Canada, etc., etc., etc., Residing at Quebec:

The petition of Daniel Murray, Agent for the Contractors, Patrick Kennedy and Thomas Bentley, all of the Village of Kaskaskia, in the Country aforesaid, Merchants, humbly showeth:

That since Captain Hugh Lord's departure from this country and Mr. De Rocheblave being vested with the Government, we, your humble petitioners and His Majesty's most faithful Subjects, find to our most bitter grief our liberties trampled upon and common justice, in almost all cases, refused us. That on our presuming to remonstrate against such injustice, the said Mr. De Rocheblave will not listen to us, informing us that such are the laws of France, which he orders us to follow, telling us he knows no other, refusing the English laws proclaimed here by Colonel John Wilkins and hitherto followed by his successors to the command, that we being the only English Merchants or inhabitants of this place, we take the liberty to represent to you our unhappy situation, and lay our grievances before you, hoping from you a speedy and immediate redress, for without such 'twill be impossible for an Englishman to remain in this country, as the said Mr. De Rocheblave is daily

imposing upon us, by refusing the appointment of our suits and denying us the justice which by Law and Equity we have a right to demand at his hands, both for the security of our property as well as our persons, neither of which we look upon to be safe under his government. As Englishmen and English laws are to our great mortification despised by the public in general, and appears to be so by the said Mr. De Rocheblave in particular. That with such inhabitants as we happen to have any controversy respecting accounts or demands, unavoidable in business, he acts in the first place as Counsel for such against us, and afterwards as Judge. He one day decides a matter in our favour and immediately issues out a sentence in favour of the opposite party. That contrary to our wise constitution and to the great detriment of the Merchant, he acts in the capacity of a Trader, buying and selling goods both wholesale and retail, and has been known to make proposals for the purchasing of a cargo [last summer] to a very considerable amount, which he would have effected had his credit been equivalent thereto.

Public advertisements with respect to property he orders in a most arbitrary manner to be torn down, which he has been known to do twice in one day. Protest and appeal from his sentence he pays no regard to, seizing notwithstanding of such for the payment agreeable to his sentence, refusing undeniable security.

He forbids the trading of liquor to savages under the severe penalty of two thousand dollars, and those very savages, notwithstanding such orders, being constantly drunk when in the village; upon an inquiry made, accused [him] even to his face of being the person that intoxicated them with Rum or Taffid, which they said he bartered to them for beavers, otters, etc.

Such is his partiality in favour of the French that upon the approach of savages Coming to war against their enemies last spring, he sent out a party of men under French colours to know the deseign of their coming. That such partiality is not to be wondered at when we consider that the said Mr. De Rocheblave, on this country being taken possession of by the English, abandoned his property here and preferred the Spanish government to ours, taking the oath of allegiance thereto.

That it is not within the cognizance of any person in the country, so far as we can learn, that the said Mr. De Rochblave has ever been qualified by taking the oaths of allegiance and Supremacy previously necessary toward the holding of such an office.

That, abstracted from all manner of prejudice whatsoever, we do not look upon the said Mr. De Rocheblave from his behaviour at all times and partiality against us on all occasions, to be by any means an Englishman's friend, having endeavoured to throw aspersions upon the character of some of us without the least foundation [and merely thereby intending to veil his own iniquitious practice], openly countenancing known Villians in opposition against us, and even encouraging the Savages to rob our boats, whose sole motive was trading amongst them in their winter grounds. That Mr. Murray, one of your humble petitioners, acting here as Agent for the Contractors, applied to Mr. De Rocheblave to oblige Mr. Viviat, a Merchant in this place [who had obtained a Certificate from Captain Lord] on the said Murray's name, on his, the said Captain Lord's, leaving this, implying that he had already bought provisions sufficient for the subsistence of two Companies of Soldiers for twelve months, to lodge the same according to the said Certificate, which he hitherto has refused to do, notwithstanding it was further enforced in consequence of a Lieu-

tenant Governor's coming to Post Vincennes who might have occasion for the same, yet the same application was of no effect.

We humbly hope that your Excellency will be kind enough to compassionate our situation and grant us such redress and that in the most speedy manner possible, as British Subjects have a right to expect at the hands of an English Governor, and your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Dated at Kaskaskia 10th April, 1777.

T. BRENTLEY [BENTLEY].

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 185, P. 10.

MISILAMACKINAC, 1st August, 1777.

[BENTLEY TO MURRAY].

DEAR SIR—I hope this will find you on your return from Post Vincent and doubt not but that you will have explained the nature of our complaints against Mr. De Rocheblave to Gov.'r Abbott, as you proposed. Little did I think it would have become so very necessary, being utterly ignorant of the mischief this man was hatching against me. You will plainly perceive that he has done this in order to get the start of me, thinking by such means to throw discredit on my report. You see what Villainy the mind of man is capable of. But what, indeed, may we not expect of a man like him, after having taken the oath of allegiance to the three kingdoms of France, Spain and Great Britain! Such a man would not, in my mind, hesitate on the arrival of the Americans to enlist himself under their banner, and even to be one of the first to do so.

You must know that I am now a prisoner, Rochblave having accused me of such correspondence with the Americans as occasioned Major De Peyster, who commands at this place, to put me in custody on my arrival here.

I am, therefore, in consequence thereof, confined to the fort, nor am I yet acquainted with the particulars of my accusation. Bonner is I believe, my accuser, in conjunction with Rochblave, and you well know how they both stand affected towards me: that nothing will be wanting

on their parts to complete my ruin. However, I rely entirely on my innocence to extricate me from this dilemma, as God Almighty, who knows my inmost thoughts and actions, knows likewise I do not deserve such treatment.

I beg the favour that on receipt of this you will write a letter to the Governor at Post Vincent, desiring he will forward the same to the Governor at Detroit, wherein you will please to mention everything you can recollect which has passed between us on the North American subject, and particularly with respect to Barges which went down the Ohio last Autumn. As you can evidence for me that on the arrival of such news at Kaskaskia, finding that Mr. Rocheblave did not immediately send off an Express to give information thereon, I mentioned to you that it would be necessary for us to send one in case he did not, soon after which he despatched one himself. You must recollect also I often repeated to you how happy we were to be out of the way and in a country where we could act a Neutral part. You well know my mind on the subject and how much I abhored the thought of interfering on either side, ever blaming the obstinacy and violence committed on both sides, as also how much I wished for the arrival of King's troops, after expressing my surprise that such were not sent to prevent the Americans sending powder, etc., up the Mississippi, and that you must recollect to have heard me often repeat that I had rather see a hundred King's troops arrive than two thousand North Americans. You know the injustice done me by Rocheblave on many occasions, which you will please explain at large, as also the cause of our intended complaints against him to general Carlton and the petition on the Subject which we should have sent had not Kennedy, after promising, refused to sign it. You were present when he decided the affair of Bonner's note to Bazille la Chappelle in my favour, and you were also present when, a few days after, he sent Mr. La Chance with a party of men to

seize for the payment, notwithstanding I appealed from his judgment to the Governor, who was soon expected at Post Vincent, and offered security. You likewise know that he refused to oblige Mr. Viviat to give an account of his transaction with Bonner, that I might know the value of Bonner's note given to Mr. Viviat in my name for fourteen hundred odd livres, payable in Beaver at five livres a pound, which he seized for the payment. You know perfectly well that he set aside my mortgage on Bonner's house, which was duly recorded in the Secretary's books, and sold the house for the payment of Iandron's mortgage upon the same, which was not registered until several months after mine, as also he ordered to be torn down two advertisements which I put up to the public in one day protesting against the sale. Omit not to mention Bonner's Villainy to me, and how much he was countenanced, even afterwards, by Rocheblave, as also how he countenanced Givault in his behaviour, permitting him to stay several days in Kaskaskia after I applied to him to oblige to return to his duty. I am not conscious that any part of my conduct will admit of an ambiguous interpretation, and must imagine that 'tis the corn that was taken from Mathero's that he wants to make a handle of. Some hints have been given me that he would even insinuate I have supplied Gunpowder, etc., to the Americans. My invoices will show the quantity of gunpowder and guns I brought up with me. Hamilton can prove that I sold 40 guns to Motard in March last and that I left a considerable quantity on my coming away, as also what gunpowder I left behind me, and the remainder being to the best of my recollection little more than three hundred weight, will show whether it was too much to be expected for my winter's trade amongst the Savages, as well as at Kaskaskias, and at Kaskaskias, where in fact I sold the most. I beg you will include at the same time a copy of my letter left with you wherein I instructed you to close up

the matter about the corn immediately upon the arrival of Captain Johnson, by Mathews' and Muckle Murray's affidavits. I do not know if you were privy to Mr. Rocheblave's offering me three hundred weight of gunpowder for sale last autumn. If you have knowledge thereof 'twill be right to mention it in your letter. I cannot call to mind whether it was before or after he sold some Gunpowder to Mr. Billtre. Hamilton can prove that I left orders in case the Americans arrived to hide my goods in trunks, which will show I had not the least intention of supporting them. On the contrary, Hamilton and Mathews can prove, notwithstanding these Americans sent me orders by the former to give no more orders to the Delaware Indians, I have sold them powder constantly since, in opposition to their orders.

Please to include Hamilton's and Matthews' affidavits in your letter, as also Muckle Murray's should be there, and when you have finished your letter you will do well to make oath that the contents of such a letter of such a date is a just and true relation of facts. This you will be kind enough to accompany with your letter, and of all such affidavits please make a duplicate or even triplicate for fear of accidents.

I am extremely sorry to give you this trouble, but am so well convinced of your good will to serve injured innocence that the nature of my case will sufficiently apologize to you for the same.

All I wish is that I may be at liberty to return immediately to Kaskaskias that I may avail myself of such evidence as may be necessary to clean up my character, which you well know I can do without the least difficulty. Should Governor Johnson be arrived you can easily convince him how falsely I am accused, when Rocheblave's malice will appear in a most conspicuous light to any impartial mind.

I know my poor wife will be much afflicted at my situation, and you will endeavor all in your power to encourage her to keep up her spirits, that my affairs may not suffer any other cause than that which my absence alone can occasion. No person knows better than herself how innocent I am of everything that can be laid to my charge, but what is not villainy capable of, and more especially place in a man like Rocheblave, who does not [who does not fr?] understanding sufficient to put a gloss upon actions of his own, however black, and to render criminal such as are most innocently intended in others. However I trust in God that He will release me from my enemy's hands and that He will doubly load him with that infamy which they would so unjustly heap upon me, such being the reward due to their actions.

I am, dear Sir,

Your very obliged h'ble serv't,

T. B.

To Dan'l Murray,

At Kaskaskias.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 21.

[BUTLER'S EXAMINATION BEFORE ROCHEBLAVE.]

[*Translation*].

Today the 15th February, 1778, 8 o'clock in the morning, there appeared in the audience chamber of this fort, by our order the said Henry Butler of Irish origin living six years in the Province of Pennsylvania, who, after legal pressure had been brought to bear, was ready to tell the truth to the following questions:

They ask him when and how he came to this country.

In reply: "he had arrived several days ago and was forced to bear arms for the rebels, had left Fort Pitt three months before with three others and joined the Sieur [John] Morin, whom he found hunting on Belle Riviere."

They asked him what was then going on in the said fort as well as in the neighboring provinces.

He "had heard it said that the King's troops were scattered through the neighboring villages of the said fort and their General was at a place called White Horse." He was asked if he had heard that Philadelphia was taken and how? He replied that "he heard that the people of Philadelphia had raised the chain and had given entrance to the vessels of His Majesty."

They ask him if he had seen any engagement between the King's troops and the Rebel army.

He replied that "he heard said that there had been a battle on a little river called the 'Schuyler' which the Rebels had lost."

They asked him where was Congress?

He replied it was then at Lancaster, but had since retired to Carlysle.

He was asked if he knew the armament prepared for this country.

He replied that he had left the party before they had learned that.

He was asked if he knew George Morgan and where he was.

He said he knew him and that he had gone to Philadelphia to seek for money to pay for the provisions for the troops which he had furnished, and he had not yet returned.

They asked him if he knew anything else.

He replied that he heard them say the affaire would finish this spring; that the people were inclined to the King's party, and were not contented by the oath they had exacted from house to house, on the contrary; he added they had brought the prisoners taken by the Royal Army to a place called Winchester.

Read to him he made his declaration and said it contained the truth and signed herewith, our sheriff witnessed and signed.

HIS
HENRY [X] BUTLER.
MARK
ROCHEBLAVE, *commandant.*
PATT KENNEDY.
CHARLES GOGIS.
CAR BONNEAUX, *Sheriff.*

And today the 16th of the same month continued the same questioning of the affairs we were engaged in under legal oath taken again by the said Butler, they asked him what was the strength of the garrison and the name of the Brigadier-General.

He replied: The Brigadier-General was called Hand, formerly surgeon of the 18th Regiment, commanding there, and had nearly 100 men, mostly deserters from the troops of His Majesty. The thing he could not explain clearly was: Were the deserters, settlers [colonists]?

He was asked if they had a large number of barges and boats prepared.

He said that they had nearly eighty ready; that they worked at others every day; that they had more, but a storm swamped seventeen.

They asked if he knew anyone named W. Ling, to which he replied, no. They asked him: what did the pay bring? He replied he had received nothing for the three months he had been at Fort Pitt. They asked him what the people thought of the decent of the Apalaches.

He replied that they had been quiet until the building of the barges, since then they thought it was for the evasion of the chiefs and congress, that the people determined to stop them if they wished to escape by there.

Read to him this declaration he said it contained the truth, and had nothing to add or change, to augment nor diminish, and made his mark not knowing how to sign the year and day.

HIS
HENRY [X] BUTLER.
MARK
PATT KENNEDY, *Witness.*
JAMIS MORIN, *Witness.*
CAR BONNEAUX, *Sheriff.*

Endorsed examination of Henry Butler at Post Vincennes before Mons. Rocheblave.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 512.

[MONTGOMERY TO DE PEYSTER].

SIR—Mr. Philip Dejean, having at the instance and through the intercession of Mr. Bentley, obtained permission from the Governor and Council of this State, to come to this Country on his Parole, and applying to me to go to Detroit, I offered to comply with his request on his taking the oath of neutrality, which he did not think proper to do, notwithstanding which, as he is extremely anxious to have his family with him until a cartel takes place for the exchange of prisoners, and well knowing the disposition of the state of Virginia under which I have the Honour to serve, that it is not their intention by any means to oppress, but as far as in them lays to alleviate all such persons as the fate of arms shall deliver into their hands. I have, therefore, at his particular requisition, granted him a Party under my protection to go to Detroit in order, if you should think meet, to conduct his family to this country. I hope they will be properly received, begging leave to assure you that I am inspired thereto by no other motives whatsoever than those of humanity, in which I have no doubt, from your known character, you will most readily concur with me.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

JNO. MONTGOMERY,

Lieutenant Colonel Commandant.

Fort Clark at Kaskaskias in the Illinois Country, 6th July, 1780.

ART. SCHUYLER DE PEYSTER, ESQ.

In Council March 4th, 1780.

On the application of Colonel Legras and Mr. Bentley, of St. Vincent, on behalf of Philip Dejean, a friend of theirs, the lieutenant governor is advised to permit the said Dejean to go to Colonel Clark's headquarters in the Illinois on parole. [A copy].

FER'K H. RANDOLPH, Cl'k Council.

This certifies that Mr. Dejean has permission on parole to go to Colonel Clark's headquarters.

"POITESFIELD,"
Lt. Col. T. T. M.
25th March, 1780.

WM. YOUNG:

From Lt. Col. Montgomery, commanding at Fort Clark, of the 6th of July, 1780, to Major De Peyster.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 40.

[*Translation*]

February 28, '78.

[Extract of a letter from M. Rocheblave to Bosseron].

By a deserter who arrived at Fort Pitt we have learned that the people of Philadelphia, having secured the ear of Congress have raised the chain that forbade the vessels of the King to come, and has by that means entered under the obedience of His Majesty, that congress had fallen precipitately toward the mountains after the complete routing of the army, that the people sighed ardently for Peace to release them from the most frightful misery, and that the Chiefs, to save themselves, turned their efforts toward the road to Fort Pitt. A batteau descending to the said Fort took Sieurs Becquet and their goods. Mr. la Chance was subjected to the same thing with his brandy, of which the settlers never received. The displeasure of the country proves very certain that they should manage to make little use of the force there. Certain rumors of the bad disposition of the savages makes me engage to speak to the Chiefs of the Wolfs.

I pray you, if you can, come and see me.

BY THE EDITOR.

The letter of Edward Abbott from Vincennes shortly after his arrival in April, 1777, to take charge of that Post and district as their "Lieutenant Governor," shows the neglect of their affairs by the British owners.

Ever since the conquest, except the fiat of a "Commandant," or arbitrary edicts of a "Judge Advocate," appointed from the "Province of Illinois," the French and Indian mixed inhabitants of this section had drifted along some fourteen years without a civil government. Yet in this remote wilderness they were at peace with the friendly savages, and had no concern in the wars and turmoil of the country abroad.

They bartered their furs with home or foreign traders, hired to them, and as "Engages" in that business, roved with distant savages, or as voyagers went to "town" as they called New Orleans, or went elsewhere up and down western rivers.

They readily obeyed the governing power that was, or claimed to be, no matter how often changed, and paid a most grateful homage to the Father Priests who visited them. They had, nor wanted, but little and were content.

Though Captain Abbott says "anarchy" prevailed, he meant their lack of the laws to which he was accustomed. His letter shows that he found the inhabitants polite, sociable, obedient and altogether a light-hearted and happy people.

In these respects Vincennes was a type of other permanent French settlements, such as those at Cahokia, Fort Chartres, Kaskaskia, or elsewhere in the Northwest.

The exceptions were the trade places that had become a refuge for outcasts or other vile men, as at Peoria, Wea and the Miamis. Here, without the restraining presence of good women of their own race, and that of the Missionary Fathers, personal broils were rife, as well as the most flagrant debauchery of the native savages.

At the time of which we write there was no fort at Vincennes, and Governor Abbott, assisted by the French, spent a part of 1777 "trying to stockade the place," for which "Rocheblave," then Commandant at Kaskaskia, was "sending cannon from the Illinois."*

He named the stockade "Fort Sackville," after Lord George Sackville, otherwise known at Lord George Germain. Under Lord North's rule he was Secretary of State for the American Colonies, and during the War of the Revolution opposed every measure, short of absolute submission, to end that contest.

Aside from his *orders* to go, Captain Abbott's personal "reasons both for remaining at Vincennes and leaving it were to avoid expense." He had a deep "regret for the poor people attached to the Crown, who feel themselves cast off, but determined to defend Fort Sackville."†

He quit Vincennes late in the winter of 1778 and drew his salary as its Lieutenant Governor from April 1, 1777, to July 20, 1778, at the rate of two hundred pounds sterling yearly.‡

He had no Indian or border experience, and by education and habit was a refined, honest and kind-hearted gentleman in the Artillery service.

* Abbott to Sir Guy Carleton, Vincennes, July 9, 1777. Canadian Archives.

† Abbott to Sackville, April 3, 1778. Canadian Archives.

‡ Canadian Archives.

Without following him in the meantime, "Captain Abbott" was later ordered by General Haldimand to embark with a detachment of Royal Artillery for Dominica, or if that island is not restored on his arrival here, to go to Barbadoes."*

†Now to Captain Abbott's letter.—H. W. B.

* Haldimand to Abbott, Quebec, Oct. 20, 1778. Canadian Archives.

† See next page, page 313.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES Q, COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS

VOL. 14, Page 48.

[ABBOTT TO CARLETON.]

Copy of a letter from Lieutenant Governor Abbott, Superintendent, dated St. Vincennes, 25th May, 1777:

SIR—I have the honor of acquainting your Excellency of my arrival the 19th inst. The short time, and trouble with the Indians, &c, have not permitted my taking a general review of the affairs of this district.

Since the conquest of Canada no person bearing His Majesty's commission has been to take possession; from this your Excellency may easily imagine what anarchy reigns.

I must do the inhabitants justice for the respectful reception I met with, and for their readiness in obeying the orders I thought necessary to issue.

The Wabache is perhaps one of the finest rivers in the world; on its banks are several Indian towns, the most considerable the Ouiga [Wea], where, it is said, there are 1,000 men capable to bear arms. I found them so numerous and needy, I could not pass without great expense. The presents, though very large, were in a manner despised, saying their ancient Father [the French] never spoke to them without a barn* full of goods.

Having no troops and only a handful of French, obliged me to acquiesce in part of their inhabitants' demands.

* This word is very obscure in the original, and it may be meant for cabin.

which has occasioned a much greater expense than I could have imagined; but I believe it not thrown away, as I left them seemingly well disposed for His Majesty's service.

I have drawn on Mr. Dunn for seven thousand five hundred and thirty-two pounds six shillings and ten pence half penny New York curency and request your Excellency will order payment. I have likewise taken the liberty of drawing on Mr. Dunn for 6,428 livres in favor of Jean Baptiste Racine, dit [alias] St. Marie, who has acted as commandant of this place since it was conceded to His Majesty. The fair character he bears, with the certificate annexed to his account makes me think it just. I hope your Excellency will excuse the incorrectness of this as I am every minute called away and have not a moment to myself.

I beg leave to mention Mr. Edgar, the bearer of this, who has had a great deal of trouble, paid all the expenses of Government without the least gratification, and without whom I could not have kept the accounts in any order from the multiplicity of affairs. I offered him payment which he refused. He came with me to see the country and can much better inform you of it than I can, who was continually employed.

[This person was John Edgar, a merchant in the Indian trade at Detroit. Of Scotch-Irish descent, his sympathy later drew him to the American side of the war then being fought so bitterly with Great Britain and her Indian allies. He staked all, and for a time, lost all on the issue.

For talking in favor of the Americans, and especially of his horror of the capture or murder of their women and children by the savages, he was imprisoned, first at Detroit, and later sent in irons to Quebec. However, he escaped on the way, going first to Boston and soon thereafter settled permanently at Kaskaskia.

The Congress of the United States, April 7, 1798, passed "An Act for the relief of the refugees from the British provinces of Canada and Nova Scotia," agreeable to which, the commissioners under it, in their report of May 8, 1800, state that Mr. John Edgar was "entitled to a special rate of allowance of two thousand acres of land." Adding that "he rendered many important services" and that his losses were very great and his sufferings still greater."*

He was an active and sagacious business man, and under the more favorable conditions in Illinois, soon recovered his earlier losses. With all this he was very generous to the needy. He was hospitable, and at his mansion, the finest in Kaskaskia, he and his wife were famous entertainers. It was a welcome resort of fashionables at home, or prominent visitors. And when General La Fayette was there in April, 1825, he was Col. Edgar's guest. In the meanwhile Edgar had become the largest land owner in the State, and prominent as a citizen of Illinois; on the bench as a judge, in the territorial and State legislature, in military affairs, and in the commercial growth of the State.—H. W. B.]

I shall send off in a few days toward Fort Pitt to see what is doing there. I enclose a note sent me from Mons. Rocheblave which shows the Spaniards' intention towards us, and which corresponds with other intelligence which I have had. By the next opportunity I hope to have it in my power to send a circumstantial account of this place.

I must not neglect mentioning a Mr. Ramsey.

[James Ramsey who subscribes himself "Sub-Lieutenant of His Majesty's 42 regiment and Judge Advocate of the Province of Illinois" in 1768, with power and authority to examine the land titles of the Province of Illinois and ad-

* American State Papers, Vol. 1, Public Lands, page 106, edition of 1832.

minister the oath of allegiance to its inhabitants. And the French at Vincennes accordingly took such oath before him.*

He was appointed to this position Nov. 6, 1768, by John Wilkin, Commandant of the Illinois at Fort Chartres.—H. W. B.] who had been here about nine years ago from the the Illinois.

I would beg your Excellency would give me orders concerning the land at this place, for few of them have any proper grants though possessed near thirty years.

I have the honor to be with respect

Your Excellency's most Obedient Hum'l Serv't,

EDWARD ABBOTT,
Lieut. Governor & Superintendent of St. Vincennes.

As it is necessary for a Commissary of Indian Affairs at this place I could wish your Excellency would approve of Mr. Edgar a person well qualified for it. [See Amer. State Papers, Pub. Lands P. 106-110.]

To His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton.

Endorsed: Copy of a letter from Lieut. Governor Abbott, Superintendent, dated St. Vincennes 26th May 1777.

In Sir Guy Carleton's [No. 32] of 11th August, 1777.

* The old Land Office Records at Vincennes since removed to the State Archives at Indianapolis.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 48.

DETROIT, April 25, 1778.

[ABBOTT TO CARLETON.]

SIR—I left St. Vincenne the third of february, and after a painful journey of thirty-three days through the woods, arrived here the seventh of March.

I once flattered myself [as I had the honor of informing your Excellency] of being able to remain without incurring any great expence, experience has convinced me to the contrary, which determined me to leave the place before the Indians returned from their winter Hunt, knowing they would be much exasperated, my not making large presents.

I hope your Excellency will approve my conduct. It was the only alternative left under the restrictions you was pleased to lay on me. It was not possible for me to meet thousands of savages without presents of ammunition, Liquor and Merchandise. Notwithstanding every precaution in my power, I have been obliged to incurr a great expence to keep the Indians in the Crown's interest, for which I have drawn on Mr. Dunn.

The necessity and the nature of my situation, I hope, will induce your Excellency to order payment, however unfortunate I may have been to fall under your displeasure.

The utility of a Person to command at St. Vincenne to prevent the savages entering into the Rebel service, I submit to your Excellency, if this is necessary, it must of course, be attended with expence.

I enclose the instructions I left with Major Beaulow, senior officer at St. Vincenne.

I have the honour to be your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

EDWARD ABBOTT.

I enclose a copy of a letter sent me from St. Vincenne. which arrived this morning.

To HIS EXCELLENCY SIR GUY CARLETON.

[Haldimand Collection].

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 75.

COUNCIL HELD WITH THE INDIANS AT DETROIT, JUNE-JULY, 1778, BY THE ENGLISH LIEUT. GOVERNOR HAMILTON.

DETROIT, June 29th, 1778.

At a conference with the Ouiattonons, Quinquabones [Kickapoos] and Mascoutins were Present:

Lieut. Governor Hamilton, John Hay deputy agent; Capt. McKee; sworn interpreters; Charles Beaubin and Isidore Chesne.

OUIATTONONS [WEAS].

War Chiefs.	Village Chiefs.
Au, qua, sa, ca,	Qui, qua, po, qois,
Mau, wee, shinga,	Me, lou, e, son, ata,
Nee, Mee, Ca,	Ta, pa, tia.
Packing, qoi, shinga,	
Cha, ha,	

QUIQUABONES [KICKAPOOS].

War Chiefs.	Village Chiefs.
Egh, kee, too, wa,	Mahimamba,
Miquetto,	Pi, e, mash, kee, canny,

and thirty warriors.

Mahinamba spoke on a Calumet or pipe.

Father!

You see here a pipe that came from your hands. It has been round the Nations on the Ouabach and the Illinois, and has had the effect you said it would have when we smoked out of it. We felt our Hearts and minds at ease. The person whom you sent with this pipe told us that after it had been round the Villages in our neighborhood it should return from whence it came, for which reason we present it to you.

A PIPE.

Qui-qua-po-quois then spoke and declared the satisfaction his Nation felt on receiving the above mentioned Pipe and a road Belt and invitation to come to Detroit, that they had forced their march, the Delawares having informed them the Rebells from Virginia were on their way towards them; that they had not, however, met with the least obstacle in their way towards them, but found the road traced by their father to be very plain and even.

He then spoke with a green Belt of Wampum, which denoted the uprightness of their intentions, and was the custom of their ancestors.

PRESENTED A GREEN BELT.

Sa-pa-tia then spoke:

Father!

The road you have traced for us is so clear and good that our Women and children may follow it, we like it, and think it is by permission of the Great Spirit above, that we frequent it. I am sent here by the War Chiefs of the Nation to know your will. They smoaked out of the pipe you sent us and addressed themselves to you, as there are many bad birds [evil minded people] who come whistling about our ears. We hope you will set us right and have compassion on our Women and Children.

SIX STRINGS OF WAMPUM.

Ma-hi-nam-ba then presented a pipe painted green to show the sincerity with which his nation acted towards their Father.

He then presented one for the Qui-qua-bones and Mascoutins, saying their Chiefs had authorised him to do so and to assure their Father that they had no other will than his, and were happy to find a Father who would take pity on them and assist them.

That chiefs then present had each a tribe.

Cha-ha, War Chief, spoke:

Father!

I am a War Chief, but speak on Wampum that came from our Village Chiefs or those remaining of them, for you know the loss we have met with. The great Spirit was kind to us in our distress and inspired us with sense to look towards you. We return thanks to the master of Life for having taken pity on us. We are happy to have found the Road good, as we hope by your means we shall soon meet some of those birds called Big knives [Rebels but particularly Virginians]; our young men will wait our return, and meet us with great joy. Our Chiefs have never known what it is to disappoint anybody and will not begin with you.

Eight strings of Wampum.

Lieutenant Governor:

Children!

I have listened to you with attention. I am glad to find you did not meet with any obstacle in your way. You are welcome, as I know the loss you have met with in the death of your great chief Wa-bene-Kiah and his son and some others, has justly grieved you very much. I shall condole with you before I enter into any discourse.

Then, according to their custom, condoled with them, by giving white wampum, black strouds, &c., &c., to cover the graves and bones of their dead, and told them they should get a small quantity of Rum every day while they remained here, and when they went away would receive a little to take to their villages, &c.

Tomorrow evening I shall meet you again and let you know [according to your desire] my sentiments, as well as those of all the nations in this neighborhood.

In the meantime here is a party of my children, the Poutawattamies, who are going to war. I am glad you will have an opportunity to see them before they go away, by which you may judge of the intentions of the rest.

Lieut. Governor then presented a war axe to Peemembikaetack, Poutawattamie war chief, with the usual recommendation of sparing the blood of the aged women and children, and that as they shewed a firm attachment to His Majesty and government in taking up the axe at his request, it was hoped and expected that they would lay it down when required in the same obedient manner.

The above War Chief then sang the war song and expressed his resolution of paying the greatest attention to what he might hear from his Father, who was his, as well as their Nation's support.

An Outawa and a Chippewa War Chief being present by accident, likewise sung the war song which was followed by a War Chief of the Qui-qua-bones.

The Lieut. Governor returned them thanks for this mark of their attachment and in particular to the Qui-qua-bones, who he said he was convinced intended acting with the same vigour as the rest of their Brethren, his children.

The weather being bad the 30th June, the Conference did not begin till the 1st July, when the above mentioned persons were present.

Lieut. Governor Hamilton spoke:

Children!

You are assembled here to hear what I have to say to you. I pray you to pay attention, and I shall also hear what you may have to say.

Six strings Wampum to each nation.

Children!

I am happy that you found the road so clear, as you expressed to me the 29th June. I hope that your young men, &c, will trace the same path, and come in to see their Father. I should like to communicate to you the news we have received, and what I have already communicated to all my children.

The Rebells at the beginning of these troubles had the advantage in Canada. At that time we had nothing to apprehend or to fear and had no occasion to have a number of Troops. The Indians in this neighborhood at the beginning of this affair came to me and demanded an axe to act against the Rebells, who had rebelled against their King and who meant to inhabit their lands, I told them—Children! You had better wait untill we hear further; perhaps the King may command you to take the axe, that we may all act in concert throughout the Colonies. What could they have done last war if the King had not given them assistance? I speak to you of these things knowing you will know I speak the truth. I speak to you who are an ancient nation. You know the last war the Spanish joined the French and were at last obliged to ask peace. The English Forces have taken New York, Boston and Philadelphia and driven the Rebels wherever they dare face them both by land and sea, and I believe in a time the King will bring their necks under his feet, and whenever they acknowledge their disobedience and return to their duty the King will then acknowledge them for his children.

The rebels, not contented to act against their Sovereign, have also acted against the Indian nations and want to dispossess them of their Lands. The King, always attentive to his dutyful Children, ordered the axe to be put into the hands of his Indian Children in order to drive the Rebels from their Land, while his Ships of War and Armys cleared them from the sea.

Children!

These strings are to remind you that the King never tried to take any of your lands, but that it was the rebels.

Six Strings to each Nation.

Children!

I now speak to you, the three nations on the Ouabash, to inform you that the Ottawas, Chippowas, Hurons, Poutawattamies, Senecas, Shawanese, &c, have hold of their father's axe, and are all of one voice, and will not bury it until the King, their Father, shall order peace.

Thirteen strings.

Children!

It would have given me pleasure to have seen you here assembled in Council at the time it was held, but as you came too late, you will be informed of the Proceedings by some of your Friends or the Interpreters.

Children!

I am glad to see you all composed. What I am now going to say is of importance to you, your wives and children. I heard that the Spaniards have given succor to the Rebels and given them what assistance they could. Notwithstanding they were rebels against their King and enemies to the Indian nations, I have heard that the Spaniards have said to you, the Indians on the Ouabash, that they owned the lands there and that the King of England had no claim thereto. I desire to know from you if it be true or not? Is it possible that the Spaniards have forgotten already that they were obliged to ask for peace from the King of Great Britain, and don't they know that the King will protect his children, the Indians, in the security of their lands and that no power whatever shall dispossess them? I give you, the three nations, Qui-qua-bones, Ouiattonons and Mascoutins, each a Belt, to assure you that the King will protect you

from any Power that may attempt to invade your just rights. I have the King's orders to protect those that shall shew themselves his children. I don't want to purchase your friendship with Liquor.

The King, knowing that his children who act with his axe are unable to provide for themselves, has accordingly provided for them. I am persuaded you have worn out your shoes, etc. I shall therefore give you something that when you return your people may see you have given me your hands and were well received, and perhaps they may tread the path you have done.

I am well assured that the Delawares have acted in favor of the rebels. I have accordingly in Council delivered a Belt in my name and that of all the Nations neighboring here around, and in the name of the six nations, that if they still continue to favor the Rebels that I would, with all my children, look on them as rebels.

The lieutenant governor changed their medals and told them that they were from the King. He looks on you as his children, therefore wishes you should ware [wear] his picture, you not having any other Father but him.*

Lieutenant Governor spoke:

Children!

As you are all here present and wanting to return, I will finish what I have to say to you before we break up this meeting. I cannot but praise the behaviour of the Indian nations who have taken hold of their Father's axe and who have acted as men. I hope you'll act the same part and not redden you axe with the blood of women and children

* A medal given to Mahim-amba in lieu of a small English medal received in 1764.

A medal to Me-lou-e-son-ata in lieu of a French medal.

A medal to Pi-e-mash-kee-canny in lieu of a French medal.

A medal to Sa-pa-ti-a, who had not any before.

or innocent men. I know that men kill men and not children. I speak to you who are men.

Fourteen strings.

Sa, pa, ti, a, then spoke:

Father!

You are in the right to ask of us our sentiments. We will inform you we acknowledge you say right when you say this island is yours. It is true. Some birds have told us otherwise, but we have not yet paid any attention to them. We address ourselves to you, who is our true Father. Who are the Chiefs that pretend to be ignorant that the French King has been conquered by the English? We, the Indians on the Ouabach never pretend to go to the Spanish side for succor, but come to your side as you are our Father. Even the least your Children will know that we are at present the King of England's Children, as we have been conquered by you. As to the Big Knives, we know them. We have received your Belt in our Village. One of our Chiefs is gone to take a walk with it towards them; he will soon return. All our War Chiefs are much pleased to go against the Virginians and act in Concert with their brothers. Our intention is never to act against children but against men. We thank you for saying you'll take care of us. We are assured that our young men will tread the path which we found so clear and smooth.

Lieutenant Governor spoke:

Children!

I am glad to hear you express you sentiments agreeably to those of the other nations.

Qui-qua-po-qois then spoke:

Father!

You are in the right to think that the Spaniards try to draw us to them. The son of old Tobacco, who is a Pian,

in company with another, were on the Spanish side and asked us to go. We would not. We told them we had you for a Father. We saw a road, our eyes were open, and we followed your path well beaten.

Father!

Believe that we, the Ouittonons, Qui-qua-bones and Mascoutins are all as one man, and we are sincere for you. Don't imagine that altho we go for Rum to the Spaniards that they have our Hearts.

3d July, 1778.

The chiefs, etc., assembled as the 1st July. The Lieutenant-Gov'r then presented an axe to Chaka, Ouattonons war Chief told him that as he sang on the axe belonging to Peemembekeetack [a Powtawatomie war Chief] he now presented him an axe for his use to act against those people who want to possess themselves of your Land, its the King's Command that I put this axe into your hands to act against His Majesty's Enemies. I pray the Master of Life to give you success, as also your warriors whenever you go with your Father's axe.

Cha-ha, Ouiattonon War Chief, received the axe with marks of satisfaction and sung the war song and presented it to a Ouiattonon War Chief who sang and presented it to Mis-quitto, qui-qua-bones, War Chief who sang, and said, Father:

I have never as yet sang the war song. I am but a young man, notwithstanding I have killed men, I shall endeavour to sing;—*Sings.* Lieutenant-governor then spoke. I thank you Misquitto for having sharpened the Ouiattonos axe, I present you this axe [giving a War Belt] to use against the King's ennemies. I am persuaded the Ouiattonons will sharpen it for you in return. Misquitto sings the war song and presented it to Cha-ha, Ouiattounon. War Chief Cha-ha then spoke.

Father! It gives me pleasure to see you have given the Qui-qua-bones an axe, and that we, the Ouittanons, should sharpen it. As for my part I am almost ashamed to say anything as the Qui-qua-bones are greater warriors than we are.—Sings.

Lieutenant-Governor presented a certificate to Qui-qua-po-quois, for his attachment to His Majesty and Government. Ta,-pa,-tia, spoke,—

Father!

We return you thanks for your attention towards us. You have asked in what time we want to return to our villages. We answer you that we want to return directly, if possible. You know that we Village Chiefs have nothing to say in War. When we get at our villages shall interpret everything which occurred to our War Chiefs, who know how to act in War.

Father!

We hope you'll provide us with water carriage, that we may be enabled to return speedily. We are assured that everything is at your command, therefore you can order us some with ease.

Lieutenant-Governor:

Children!

I have attended to what you have said. The same water carriage that brought you here shall take you back. As to what regards my children, I assure you I have never shewn more favor to one nation than to another. I look on them as with one eye and use them all alike. I have nothing more to say but to wish you a good voyage and a safe return to your village. ,

Council held with the Indians at Detroit, June, 1778.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 182, P. 489.

[*Translation*]

BY THE INHABITANTS OF VINCENNES.

To His Excellency, the Governor of the State of Virginia:

SIR—This is in the name of the inhabitants of Vincennes that the undersigned have the honour to write these lines to your Excellency, in order to let you know the character they have concurrently taken with the French of Kaskias, those of Vermillin those of Onyas [Weas], &c., together with our friends, and of Canada, of which we know their intentions.

We are unanimously convinced not to receive any other troops in our homes than those sent by the King of France to Chase the enemies from our country.

The Indians for which we seek are intelligent. We have made it a crime to receive the Virginian Troops here. Some nations fight, themselves, against us, consequently we will give it to them. We pray Your Excellency will not have that trouble again, at least that we may have the liberty to act against the Enemies of France. Yours and ours embrace the same cause. Many nations want to join us as much for us as for them, themselves. We will wait, for the Virginians will not be troublesome in their possession. Remember what I told you. It is the same as the memoir we addressed to the minister of France, M. le Chevalier de Luzerne; at least he knows the Justice of our cause and wish it well in this regard; in attending to that decision we have the honor to be, with respectful affection,

Your Excellency's most humble servants.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES 2, VOL. 15, P. 230.

[HAMILTON TO CARLETON(?)].

MY LORD—This very day an express is arrived at this place from the Illinois with the following account, which my duty requires I should communicate as quickly as possible.

Twenty days since, a party of the Rebels, reported to amount to three hundred men, marched across the country from near the mouth of the Ouabash to Kaskaskias and surprised the place [which is defenseless] at night, seized Mr. de Rocheblave and put him in irons.

They exact an oath of allegiance to the Congress from the inhabitants, who, by what I can learn, are too fickle and ready for change to make any difficulty.

The Rebels have sent a Detachment with an officer to Cahokia to receive the submission of the inhabitants, and the person who brought the account has no doubt but those of St. Vincennes are by this time summoned, as a French Priest named Gibault, had his horse ready saddled to proceed there from Cahckia, with design to act as an agent for the Rebels.

This Ecclesiastic is a fellow of infamous morals, and I believe very capable of acting such a part.

An Express with this Account goes off tomorrow, for Niagara and Quebec.

Monsieur de Celoron, now at this place, sets off tomorrow for Ouiattonon, with Belts and Speeches for the Indians of the Ouabash, who have lately engaged to act against the Rebels, and whose interest it is to oppose their Progress.

Your lordship is acquainted with the state of this country, with regard to the Troops which occupy the several posts, that there is but a single Regiment between Montreal and Michilleinaskinac, that between the posts on the Lakes and New Orleans there is not a single Fort or Garrison to check the French or Spaniards in any attempt to molest the Rebels, or keep the Indians or inhabitants in awe.

The present tractable disposition of the Savages is to be made the most of as really the only means left in my hands. How long the management of them may be entrusted to me is what I am at a loss to guess. There is not at this moment a single vessel at this post. They are ordered away by the Officer Commanding the Troops, who has received orders which deprive me of what authority I might put to profit.

No accounts yet arrived from England; no orders or instructions from Quebec, and tho' from what passes in the Mississippi there is reason to think a foreign war is declared, no advice that can be depended on is yet given. Letters from St. Joseph's mention that French, Spanish and Rebel Officers have been in treaty with the Savages of that Quarter, but have not received any decisive answer.

Mr. de Rocheblave before his falling into the hands of the Rebels informed me that four English frigates were in the mouth of the Mississippi.

The bandetti who have given an alarm in the country will I trust be obliged to retire, as there is reason to think the jealousy of the Savages will incite them to fall on them.

Some parties of Savages have lately returned from War with tolerable good success.

I have the Honor, etc.,

HENRY HAMILTON.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 115.

[HAMILTON TO CARLETON(?)].

SIR—Since my last of the 6th Instant an Express is arrived from the Ilinois, with an account of the arrival of a party of Rebels, in number, three hundred, who have taken M. de Rocheblave prisoner, have laid him in Irons, and exact an oath from the Inhabitants binding them to obedience to the Congress, etc.

There is an officer with thirty men detached by the Rebels to Cahokia to receive the allegiance of the people at that post and I have no doubt that by this time they are at St. Vincennes, as when the Express came away one Gibault, a French priest, had his horse ready saddled to go thither from Cahokia to receive the submission of the Inhabitants in the name of the Rebels.

'Tis now but twenty-one days since the rebels got Possession of Kaskaskias. Monsieur de Celoron sets off this day with Belts for the Ouabash Indians whose deputies went from this not long since, well satisfied with their reception and took three War Belts.

A letter from Mr. Rocheblave written some little time before his imprisonment mentions there being four English frigates in the entrance of the Misisipi.

As there is not one of the vessels here at present, I send this express in a Batteau to Fort Erie by Lieut. Chabert of the Indian Department.

I beg leave to take notice to your Excellency that if the Ouabash Indians are supported properly it will entail a considerable additional expence at the same time 'tis well known to your Excellency that these Nations are the only

barrier to be opposed at present to the inroads of the Rebels and the attempts of the French and Spaniards.

I am also to observe to Your Excellency that there remains yet a large quantity of provision to be forwarded to this Post, that scarce any merchandize is yet arrived, and goods of last year left on the carrying place being not yet forwarded, that large quantities will be wanted for the savages, as well as for supplying the trade, and that the Vessels alone will not be sufficient to transport the quantities wanted.

If the merchants were allowed to forward their goods in batteaus all the way, they would many of them, I believe, choose to venture, rather than abide the damage, losses and delays they suffered last year.

I have the Honor to be, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

HENRY HAMILTON.

August 8th, 1778.
Endorsed: Detroit.
LIEUT.-GOV. HAMILTON.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 96, P. 6.

No. 4.

MICHILIMAKINAC, 15th August, 1778.

From Major De Peyster to His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief:

SIR—The enclosed letter from Mr. [Richard McCarty, later captain under Clark] Macarty, a Trader from this Post to the Illinois, and one from St. Joseph's, will give your Excellency some insight in what is doing or likely to be done in that quarter. McCarty's account is confirmed by several people just arrived from the Illinois, I am also informed that reports are spread in all the Illinois villages that the french are soon to take possession of that Country as there are no troops at present to keep the Virginians from going there. They have it in their power to spread reports and poison the minds of the Indians so as to make it at least very dangerous to Traders.

Mr. Louis Chevalier at St. Joseph's holds the pass to Detroit and can also give the first intelligence of the enemy's motion on the Wabash. This gentleman is so connected with the Potawatamies that he can now do anything with them, having lived upwards of thirty years at that place. A young Indian named Amiable, at present at Montreal, is his son. Some mark of distinction given to this young man, and he, with a few of his comrade-Potawatamies persuaded to remain another year at Montreal, would be of great service, as those at St. Joseph would never misbehave whilst any of their friends are down the country.

In the year '63 when St. Joseph's was cut off, Mr. Chevalier two days before it happened, informed Mr. Schlosser of the Indians having intentions, which he did not believe, to his cost.

Chevalier happening to be present, it gave some designing people a handle against him as his innocence was not generally known.

I have, since my arrival here, inquired particularly into all those matters and finding that affair no ways to his disadvantage and seeing the great attention paid to him by the Indians, I thought it necessary to render him useful by giving him some authority at St. Joseph's which he has hitherto exerted with the greatest discretion.

I have the honor, etc.,

[Signed] A. S. De Peyster.

A letter prior to this [see page 41] concerning an application made by the Merchants, Traders and Inhabitants of Machilimackinac, to His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, for a Missionary at that Post.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 137.

[*Translation.*]

[CELORON TO HAMILTON.]

SIR—Since I arrived at this post I learned from an Indian Piawkichias [Pi-an-ke-shaw] come from St. Vincennes to the River Anguille; that the Virginians had gathered four hundred men, and in a few days three hundred more would arrive. That they had arrested Mr. Le Gras after seizing his goods [which they used to win over the Indians] they sent him under a good guard to Illinois; that Gudert, who had been an interpreter last year, and two settlers had also been seized to be sent there, but the Indians had claimed them as brothers and kept them awaiting my arrival at Ouyastonons.

I have been detained here for eight days wanting water, and waiting for the reply of the village, not yet made. The Indians do not appear disposed to go to the Illinois. The Indians of Onatache, tepicouos, du coeur de ceif and those of St. Joseph, have not yet returned from Kaskaskias where they were invited to go by the rebels of the north of Virginia.

On my arrival at this post I found all the merchandize for Vincennes and the Onyas party. They promised the Indians who would help them, all the effects that the French brought from Detroit. A party of fifteen Indians left here yesterday for the falls to attack the rebels there, where there is great numbers and a strong fort between the falls and the River Roetie, south of the Belle River. They are continually working to strengthen it. All the news deserves the greatest attention, and should I hear

of anything worth while, when I go to the Onyas, I shall send a courier with it.

I have the honor to be with respect, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

CELORON.

At Miamis the 28th August, 1778.

The Virginians after having taken the oath at St. Vincent's, established three officers there, who are Messrs. Myette, commandant; Baron, Major; and Munbrum, lieutenant.

Endorsed: From Mr. Celoron at the Miamis the 28th August; received 5th Oct.; enclosed in Lieut.-Gov. Hamilton's letter of the 16th and 17th Sept., and received the 5th Oct., marked Detroit.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122 P. 136.

By George Rogers Clark, Esq., Colonel in the Virginia Troops, and Commandant of the Eastern Illinois and its Dependencies, &c., &c.

Whereas, Kinaytounak, Chief of the Renard Nation of Indians, has entered into alliance and Friendship with the United States of America and promised to be a true and faithful subject thereto:

In consideration of which I do give him this as a Remembrance that he and his Nation are to treat all the Subjects of the said States with Friendship and receive them at all times as their Brothers. Given under my hand and seal at Fort Bowman in Kahos, this 28th day of August, 1778.

G. R. CLARKE [*Seal*].*

Endorsed: Commission given by the Rebels, chief of the Renards, sent by Gautier to Major de Peyster, received with his letter of 13th, May the 30th, 1778.

* This seal bears a lion rampant with star and crescent, the field marked for gules.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 167.

[HAMILTON TO HALDIMAND].

DETROIT, Sept. 22nd, 1778.

SIR—I have the honor to acquaint your Excellency that the preparatives for our little enterprize are forwarding with alacrity. This day, 15, large Pirogues capable of transporting from 1,800 to 3,000 lbs. each, having had a thorough repair, set off for Wold Rapid where cattle and wheels are likewise sent to expedite the carriage at that portage. Biscuit is baked, provisions packed in small barrels or bags, the militia companies drafted, artillery stores prepared, boats mending and all that can be thought on, put forward.

If it be possible to move off on 1st of the next month, I shall use my best endeavors to do it. I cannot foresee [tho' I shall provide against] any inclemency of the weather, which ought to prevent our taking and maintaining a post till reinforcements can join us, light Cannon and an able Engineer [as I must profess my own want of knowledge in a branch which requires abilities which I could never pretend to] are capital points. I purpose taking presents not only for the Ouebash and more Western Indians, but to encourage the Delawares, Mingoes and Shawanese to keep good watch towards the banks of the Ohio during the winter, the season when the Savages are usually dispersed for hunting.

If the Western Indians express their resentment for the inroad of the Rebels into their Country this will be a noble opportunity to build a fort on so important a spot as the Forks at the conflux of the Ohio and Misissipi,

which may be in future, a bridle on the Americans of whatever denomination or interest.

The falls on the Ohio are another important pass which I believe the Rebels will not omit to secure and fortify, the Forks of the Thiakiki are a third object, with the mouth of the Missouri for keeping in temper, the only way of subjecting savages here, we might undersell the Spaniards.

As these are points perhaps too difficult to be attempted in our present situation, perhaps liable to objection in any, I mention them with that distrust and diffidence which my humble station and abilities demand. It would however make me very happy to think a proposal of the kind should meet with your Excellency's approbation and that I could be in the slenderest degree a means of promoting the honor and interest of my King and Country.

The Spaniards are feeble and hated by the French. The French are fickle and have no man of capacity to advise or lead them, the Rebels are enterprising and brave, but want resources, and the Indians can have their resources but from the English, if we act without loss of time in this favorable conjuncture.

This may appear a picture with strong lights and little or no shade, but as the effects of pushing a force supported by the zeal of the Indians [who have hitherto acted with perfect compliance] have not yet been tryed, I hope to be excused if perhaps too sanguine.

The most considerable of the French in this settlement have shewn a very good example, and 'tis better followed than I had expected, the appearance of a reinforcement from Niagara will fortify them in their good disposition.

I design forming a depot at the Miamis, but shall take a survey of the Portage before I fix on its being on this or the other side of the carrying place; should the Indians act with zeal for us, it shall be on the other side; if coolly, on this.

An account of the numbers which leave this place shall be transmitted to your Excellency by the next vessel which goes to Fort Erie; the savages are to give their answer this day.

Some working oxen and horses set off this day for the Miamis to forward the transport of provisions at that carrying place.

Major Hay [of the militia, not yet confirmed from Headquarters, tho' his Commission and those of the other officers in the Militia and Indian department were sent down above a year since for the Commander-in-Chief's approbation] and Lieut. Duvernet, R. R. A., will commit to paper their remarks upon their communication from this to the Ilinois, and should anything occur to me on our progress, I shall venture to communicate them to your Excellency, trusting to your Candor and indulgence for the errors, omissions and incorrectness which want of information, hurry, or my want of judgment may occasion.

Several appointments with pay, taking place on this occasion, a list of them shall be prepared for your Excellency, and I hope shall appear not too lightly undertaken.

September 23d, 1778. This day I met the Outawas, the Chippeweys and Poteonattamies in Council by their own appointment. Present, Captain Lernoult, Lieut. Shourd and the Interpreters. The Hurons were to have come but the bad weather prevented them. However the Outawas spoke with a sort of resentment at their failing to meet as agreed upon. Some days ago I had called the Chiefs together and without directly asking them to join me, had told them I was going to rise up to keep my word with the Ouabash Indians, who had taken up the axe of their Father, the King, had accepted his medals and professed their attachment to the English. I further informed them that my hands were loosed by your orders, that I should no longer con-

sider myself as a village Chief, and that Capt. Lernoult would act the part of Father to them in my absence. This with the mustering the militia, pressing all the craft on the River, and other preparations, informed them sufficiently of my designs of going to war. I had previous intelligence of some designs to traverse the good disposition of the Indians who at these times have always been tamper'd with. Two lieutenants of the militia who have betrayed a backwardness, I have broke and order'd to do their courvee, James Cassety, an Irishman, and Francois Marantete, a Frenchman.

Your Excellency will receive enclosed an extract of the Council.

The copies of orders mentioned in your Excellency's letter of the 6th of August, shall be transmitted as soon as my present hurry will permit, and should I be too much press'd in time, Captain Lernoult will send them by the earliest opportunity.

Sept. 24th. The oath of allegiance was tendered to the Volunteers from the different companies who appeared to the number of 75, to the officers of Militia and of the newly formed Companies, &c.

In the Afternoon the Indians had an ox, and Captain Lernoult with several of the officers and principal inhabitants assisted at their feast.

Sept. 25th. A chief of the Poutcouattamies took charge of a Letter and message for St. Josephs. From Major de Peyster's, opinion of Louis Chevalier, I have written to Chevalier in a style to prompt him to deserve a confidence, I must own there is much reason to think ill placed, at all events there is no other person there, can engage the Poutcouattamies to act, and as Interest is his Deity perhaps he may reconcile his worship with his Duty.

26th. I gave Capt. McKee a message and present of ammunition for the Shawanese who are under Mr. De Quindre and have not yet broke up their little siege. This evening Mr. Charles Baubin came in from the Maamis. Letters which he brought mention one Clarke with 80 men being at St. Vincennes, where the French receive them well. The Indians at Ouittoun as yet undecided and timorous. I shall lose no time to encourage them.

Should I arrive time enough at Ouiattoun to speak to the Chiefs before they take a decisive part, I don't doubt the sight of the Chiefs from the Lake will determine them as I could wish.

I hope to have your Excellency's approbation for a step I mean to take with the air of Authority I support, which is to cancel the bargain made for the lend [land] of the Peakashaws, the effect of this, with that nation, and those of Ouabash, will probably be to beget a confidence in the English, as the French and Virginians have been jointly concerned in an underhand purchase, unauthorized by His Majesty.

Gibault, the Priest, has been active for the Rebels. I shall reward him if possible.

27th. Ordered a Lieutenant of the Indian Department with a small party of the Militia to the Miamis to assist the workmen in repairing the carrying place, assisting the Master Carpenter, Boat builder, &c., with written instructions.

Monsieur de Celoron writes that Jean Baptiste Chapoton [late a Captain of Militia at this place] Bosseron Junior and Mons. Le Gras are on the best terms imaginable with the rebel officers at St. Vincennes.

This last person had been equipped at this place, was in partnership at Detroit and had received many favors at

the hands of the English and French at this place, not to say anything of Governor Abbott's kindness to him.

Mr. J. B. Chapoton was dismissed at his own request on the pretence of being too old to fulfill the functions of his place. He has exceeded the terms expressed in his pass, so that he proves himself a worthy associate of Mr. Le Gras in perjury, treason and ingratitude

My determination is to set out as soon as possible. Captain Lernoult will send forward any reinforcement, thus the time spent in Indian Councils [which are sometimes very deliberate] may be employed at the Miamis in fortifying that Depot, calling in the Indians, building craft and storehouses, and procuring intelligence.

Captain McKee has orders to make enquiry what is doing at the falls on the Ohio, his information shall be forwarded by express if necessary.

Expresses shall be sent to Niagara from time to time thro' the winter.

I am persuaded troops may be forwarded to the southward all times; the winters are mild and the Rebels are not so well clothed as we. Good arms are our greatest want.

I shall use every means in my power to communicate with Mr. Stuart, but believe it will be scarce practicable.

Sir, it is with due deference I take the liberty to mention what occurs to me at present relative to the post at the Miamis.

There will be a store of provisions, perhaps of ammunition and Indian goods, at that place. As soon as I arrive there I shall order a Ridoubt to be thrown up, the houses to be fortified, or such other precaution taken for its defence as may appear best suited to the number of inhabitants and nature of the ground.

If the Rebels at Fort Pitt with the assistance of the Delawares in their interest, could effect the surprize of such a place, they would not only possess themselves of our magazine, but cut off one of our communications with Detroit, as we might in that case be obliged to return by the way of St. Joseph and be distressed for Provisions. I shall represent this to Capt. Lernoult who will judge how far a detachment sent from Detroit to the Miamis will be a cover to Detroit, and facilitate and secure our correspondence and communication.

The weakness of the Garrison of Detroit is known to your Excellency. I need not therefore dwell on that subject, but *at all events,* I shall proceed, guided by the best information I can procure.

Among several persons very capable of informing as to the nature of the country and characters of the inhabitants, Mr. Alexis Maisonville is perhaps the most so, and I must render that justice to his zeal and good will which they merit. He has been very forward on this occasion and every other to act the part of a good subject. I beg leave to recommend him to your Excellency's favor. When we shall arive at the Illinois I expect great advantage from his enterprizing spirit.

I have engaged a person to go from the Miamis to the Chickesees from whom he will procure guides to lead him to Mr. Stuart, a verbal message is all I shall charge him with for fear of discovery.

Enclosed is a letter to the commandant on the Spanish side of the Misisipi, which I shall send by the first opportunity which may present.

The copies of orders which I have the honor to transmit, are not by any means in the correct form I could wish. Your Excellency will, I hope, make allowance for my hurry. Favorable rains for some days past and the

good temper and disposition of the Indians encourage me to hope our little enterprize may be attended with some advantage. When Mr. Baubin left the Miamis, there was no notion there of any preparations, so that the first reports at the Ilinois will probably gain little credit.

Oct. 2d. We have found it a difficult matter to find two savages to go express with letters for Niagara, they are so desirous of going towards the Ouabash. I hope, however, to procure them by tomorrow. On account of all the vessels being absent, the repairing our craft goes on but slowly, the master builder is this day to give in the return of those which are in condition, and a second Brigade will set off the 5th inst.

The violent rains which were so necessary for raising the waters of the Miamis River, have retarded us in many particulars.

Your Excellency will please to observe that on the list of volunteers for the enterprize several persons are employed who must carry arms when occasion calls. As to the high pay, wages are so extravagant here that the common men receive but half what they might earn were they to stay at home. This encouragement therefore was necessary.

Oct. 3rd, 1776 [1778], 11 o'clock a. m.

Last night the Savages were assembled when I sung the War Song, and was followed by Captain Lernoult and several officers, &c., and the warriors going on the enterprize—the best dispositions and alacrity shown by all.

Two Indians set off Express this day with the Letters.

As Captain Lernoult cannot spare men from the garrison, I leave two small Howitzers behind, as they would be but lumber without people to work them.

I have for the six-pounder which we take, 2 Artillery men, 1 Sergt., 1 Corp'l., and 12 of the Volunteer Militia

under the orders of Lieut. Du Vernet, who has exerted himself in providing and preparing the many necessaries coming under his direction.

We shall set off for the Miamies River the 6th without fail.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with the most profound Respect, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient and most devoted servant,

HENRY HAMILTON.

I take the liberty of enclosing three letters in Your Excellency's packet.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 99, P. 171.

Proportion of stores taken from Detroit upon an Expedition to the Ilinois:

Beafs, 6 per	1	prickers	2
Travelling Carriages	1	punches	2
Trunks do.	1	Sheepskins	2
Case shott fix'd	200	Carbine Cartridges	480
Grape shott	30	Carbine flints	200
Loose round shott	50	Paper quires	120
Fix'd do. do.	150	Thread, lbs	10
Tubes	700	Handjack	1
Portfires	84	Bridge Barrels	1
Stow Match, lbs	60	Leather Bucketts	2
Spunages	2	Filling boxes	2
Ladles	1	Hand Bills	20
Wadhook	1	Oke Cloths	4
Portfire sacks	2	Hanks of Cord	12
Tent hooks	2	Carbine Ball	100
Drag rope, sets	1	Tanned Hides	2
Mens harness, do	2	White Rope, 2-3 of a coil	
Tube bones	2	Tents	5
Spunage tacks	200	Grind stones	1
Flax, lbs	2	Cross cut saws	3
Shells, gunades	20	Tackes, double, Block and Simple	2
Fuzes, spare	30	Whip saws	2
Hammers, claw	2	Files, fordo	6
Tennant saw	1	Grease, lbs	20
Apons of Lead	2	Sulphur, lbs	25
Powder horns with slugs	2	Saltpetre, lbs	25
Flannel Cartridges	200	Team by Esallt	6
Leather Cartridges	2	Spades	6
Powder in barrels	4	pincers, prs	4
Dark leadhorns	5	Supass, do	6
Scales, pr	1	Knives	6
Weights from ¼ to 2 lbs		Copper adze	1
Common measures from ¼ oz. to 3 lbs		Quadrant brass	1
Spikes of Steel	6	Handspikes	6

Proportion of stores taken from Detroit by Lt. General Hamilton:

HENRY DU VERNET,
2d Lieut. of Artillery.

Number of batteaus and peroques employed on Gov. Hamilton's expedition:

Peroques	42
Batteaus	10, 1 a very large French one.
Total	52

The number of Carts employed, etc., on the Carrying place of the Miamis:

Carts	10
Carriages with 4 Wheels for the Batteaus	2
Carriages with 2 Wheels for the peroques	4
Total	16

Part of our Provisions were sent forward with Col. McLeod; the Rest got over in 6 days from the 29th November to the 5th December.

HENRY DU VERNET,
2d Lieut. of Artillery.

Return of the state of His Majesty's Garrison of Fort Sackville, 30th January, 1779.

	Majors	Captains	Lieutenants	Surgeon	Batteau Masters	Mattrosses	Sergeants	Rank and File	Captains	Interpreters	Store Keeper	Volunteers	Captains
Royal Artillery						2							
King's Regiment							2	30					
Detroit Volunteers		1	1				3	34					
Militia	1	1	1	1	1			5					
Indian Department									3	2	1	3	
Artificers													3
Total	1	2	2	1	1	2	5	69	3	2	1	3	3

—(*Canadian Archives, Series B, Vol. 122, p. 287*)

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 211.

[HAMILTON TO HALDIMAND].

SIR—The 2nd Instant an express went by land from this place to Niagara with a letter in form of Diary commencing the 22nd of September, 1778. I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency by an Indian express the occurrences since that letter was closed.

The 5th of October, late in the evening, Messieurs Charles and Nicholas Gouin came to Detroit, the latter express from the Miamis, with an account that Mr. de Celown [Celoron] was at Ouittonon, when one De Couague, the bastard savage son of the old man now Interpreter at Niagara, and who is a chief among the Peorias, arrived with 5 other Persons, having Belts from the Rebels and speeches address'd to the Ouebash Indians nearly in the following terms:

"You Indians living on the River 'Ouabash'—we are not "come with design to take your lands from you; we only "desire to pass thro' your Country to Detroit to turn out "your Father who is there, for now your late Father, the "King of France, is come to Life and will recover the coun-"try he lost to the English.

" Here are several Belts for you to consider upon—a "white one for the French, a red one for the Spaniards who "mean to assist them, a blue one in the name of the Colo-"nies; a green one offering peaceable terms from the "Americans if you allow them to pass freely, and, lastly, a "red one offering you War, if you prefer that.

"We desire you to leave a very wide road for us, as we "are many in number and love to have room enow for "our march, for us swinging our arms as we walk, we may "chance to hurt some of your young people with our "swords."

Mr. de Celoron, as I am informed, contented himself with hearing this much, and without waiting to hear what reply the Indians made to this flourishing speech, mounted his horse and rode off for the Miamis, who had sent a chief and some men to meet the Rebels, I suppose with friendly overtures, as they are reputed but a dastardly nation and have done nothing this war, tho' treeted as well as the bravest.

Mr. de Celoron's expeditious movement rather surprizes me, but in this country where indulgence pleuiero takes place, there can be but slender confidence on protestations or even stronger tyes. However, his own account may throw a different light on his actions. I own the proceedings of several people at the different forts gives little room for confidence in any of them.

Two men of the name of Raimbault went lately from the Miamis with goods for St. Vincennes, notwithstanding Mr. Baubin positively forbade them, representing the obligation of their oath and the terms of the pass received from me at this place.

Mr. Bellestre, who has been some time amongst the Spaniards, is said to be at the head of 200 French, who have joined the Rebels on their march, 100 from Illinois, the rest from St. Vincennes.

The 6th our tents were struck before day and most of our stores embark'd, when three Hurons from Sandooski arrived with a very substantial account; of the approach of the Rebels by several different routes, that the advanced guard of their main body was 800 strong, that they were provided with Cannon to come against Detroit, with various particulars calculated to alarm and disconcert the Indians.

I told the messenger, however little credit I gave to this account, it should be communicated to the 4 neighboring

nations, but that I had engaged to assist the Ouabash Indians; I would keep my word.

The Indians, being assembled in the afternoon, heard my opinion of the intelligence, and with the utmost chearfullness agreed to accompany us.

During our meeting the vessel hove in sight. The 7th, at 8 in the morning, Captain Bird with fifty of the King's Regiment from Niagara, landed.

Captain Lernoult has permitted Lieut. Shourd with 2 Sergeants and 30 men to accompany us, which, considering our hasty levies, will be a reinforcement of consequence. The true spirit of the service prompts Lieut. Shourd, his Sergeants, and I think the greater part of his men, to present themselves on this occasion. Our strength will now consist of one Lieutenant of Artillery with two Gunners, one Lieutenant of the King's, 2 Sergeants and 31 Rank and File, and the Volunteer and Militia, as mentioned in a former letter.

The Indians about 70, several of them Chiefs, the rest picked men.

My satisfaction is, all are Volunteers.

Your Excellency will, I hope, excuse the hurry and incorrectness of my letter.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, &c, Sir, Your Excellency's most devoted, most obedient and most humble servant,

HENRY HAMILTON.

DETROIT, 7th Oct., 1778, ½ after 11 a. m.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 217.

[HAMILTON TO HALDIMAND.]

ROCHER DE BOUT, Oct. 14th, '78.

SIR—I have the honor to acquaint your Excellency that the little force under my command arrived at this place yesterday, having found the water higher than usual at this time of the year. We have this day got up the greatest part of the Provision brought by Captain Grant in a small sloop to the foot of the rapids. A detachment of the King's Regiment of one Subaltern, one Sergeant and 31 rank and file joined us at pointe des Chesnes the 11th instant, but an unlucky accident has deprived us of Lieut. Shourd, who commanded it. His fuzee going off accidently has broke his leg, and I was under the necessity of sending him back to Detroit with the surgeon in a batteau. The Indians join us as we proceed, and there is amongst us all the best temper that can be wished. This evening late a trusty savage arrived, whom I had sent forward for intelligence. He brings an account that the proposition of the Rebels to the savages at St. Vincennes have been rejected, and tho' they have not been apprized that the Indians of the Lakes were coming to their assistance, they have answered them with a spirit that leaves no room to doubt all will go well. Mr. de Celoron has acted in a manner very unprecedented and which I hope for the honor of human nature will never be followed. Treachery, ingratitude and perjury are heavy charges to lay to the account of a man reputed a man of honor, but I am bold to say it can be but too well supported. He had the effrontery to repeat to me by word of mouth and in hearing of the people in my batteau, that the Rebels were at the Miamis, tho' they had not arrived at the Ouiat, when he had precipitately left it, bringing

with him however some Packs of Peltry. He ranged about for three days among the Indians, in the mouth of the Miamis river, spreading this report which, however, they did not credit.

I shall have the honor of writing to Your Excellency more Particularly from the Miamis town.

We have been highly favored by the weather, else we must have suffered great delay in arriving thus far.

Any intelligence of moment shall be forwarded to Detroit by every occasion that presents.

I have the Honor to be, with the highest regard, Sir,

Your Excellencys most obedient and most humble servant, HENRY HAMILTON.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 219.

[HAMILTON TO HALDIMAND.]

Proceedings of the Rebels at St. Vincennes as related to Lieut. Gov. Hamilton by Neegik, an Ottawa War Chief, sent forward to gain intelligence. Camp at Rochee de Bout 14th Oct., 1778.

On the Rebels' first arrival at St. Vincennes they took down the English Flag left there by Lieut. Gov. Abbott, wrapped a large stone in it and threw it into the Ouabash, saying to the Indians, thus we mean to treat your Father.

Having called the Indians together they laid a War belt colored red, and a belt colored green before them, telling them that if they delighted in mischief and had no compassion on their wives and children they might take up the red one; if, on the contrary, they were wise and preferred peace, the green one.

The old Tobacco, a chief of the ——————, spoke as follows:

"MY BROTHERS—You speak in a manner not to be understood. I never yet saw, nor have I heard from my ancestors that it was customary to place good and bad things in the same dish. You talk as if you meant us well, yet you speak of war and peace in the same minute. Thus I treat the speeches of such men—on which, with a violent kick, he spurned their belts from him."

The son of Lagesse, a young chief of the Poutcouattamies of St. Joseph, spoke next to them:

"MY BROTHERS—'Tis because I have listened to the voice of our old men and because I have regard to our women and children that I have not before now struck my Tomahawk into some of your heads.—Attend to what I say. I

will only go to see in what condition our wives and children are [meaning I will first place them in security] and then you may depend on seeing me again."

The Rebel speaker then said:

"You are young men, and your youth excuses your ignorance. You would not else talk as you do. Our design is to march through your country, and if we find any fires in our way we shall just tread them out, as we walk along, and if we meet with any obstacle or barrier we shall remove it with all ease, but the bystanders must take care lest the Splinters should scar their faces.

"We shall then proceed to Detroit, where your father is, whom we consider as a Hog put to fatten in a penn; we shall enclose him in his penn till he be fat, and then we will throw him into the river. We shall draw a reinforcement from the Falls on the Ohio, and from thence and the Illinois send six hundred men to Chicagou."

To this the Indians reply'd: "You that are so brave, what need have you to be reinforced to go to Detroit, you that can put out our fires and so easily remove our barriers. This we say to you: 'Take care that in attempting to extinguish our fires you do not burn yourselves; that in breaking down our barriers you do not run splinters into your hands. You may also expect that we shall not suffer a single Frenchman to accompany you to Detroit.' "

End of the conference.

Lieut. de Quindre is returned from the attack of the fort at Kentucke, having had only two men killed and three wounded. They could not succeed in their attempt. One hundred Shawanese are still at war. Mr. de Quindre is to join me on the way with several others who have gone out from Detroit. There were but 40 Rebels at St. Vincennes. As I expect they will send for help from Kaskas-

quias as soon as they hear of our coming, I mean to send from the Miamis some Indians to give an alarm that way, and try to divide their attention.

15th. A fall of snow this day promises to raise the waters and facilitate our progress. I have the honor to be with the greatest respect, Sir, your Excellency's most Obedient and most humble servant,

HENRY HAMILTON.

Endorsed: Detroit [No. 21], 1778. Letter from Lieut. Governor Hamilton, 14th and 15th Oct., [rec'd] 28th Nov. Copy taken 12th January, 1779.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 222.

[HAMILTON TO HALDIMAND.]

MIAMIS TOWN, 28th Oct., 1778.

SIR—This day I hope to have passed 57 days Provisions for 300 men. The Savages are in good health and good temper. The restraint on their passion for Rum has only improved their good disposition. Our own people are in perfect health and spirits. The indecision of the Ouabash Indians may be attributed to the influence of interested advisers. I believe they are only waiting the motions of the Lake Indians to take an active part against the Rebels.

Ammunition is sent from here for the Shawanese. Yesterday I held a Council with about 200 Chiefs and Warriors. Their behavior was such as I wished. Since it is likely I shall pass the winter to the Southward of Detroit and the Indians have this morning desired me to apprize their friends thereof, I hope for your Excellency's orders and instructions for my conduct.

By every opportunity that offers I shall give you an account of our situation and prospects. Every intelligence I have procured confirms my suspicions of Mr. de Celoron's treachery.

He left Detroit the 9th of August, and he quits his post without having executed my orders, and by his delays seems to have endeavored to stop any attempt from our side at least for the current year. We met him in the lake the 9th October.

I have the honor to be, with the most profound respect, Sir, your Excellency's most devoted, obedient Servant,

HENRY HAMILTON.

Monsieur Chevalier arrived here from St. Joseph with two chiefs and a few warriors. This step is of consequence to the service at present. We have been joined by several on our road, and I am persuaded shall have as many as we can manage or wish for.

HENRY HAMILTON.

Endorsed: Detroit No. 22, 1778. Letter from Lt. Gov. Hamilton 28th Oct. Copy taken 12th January, 1779.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 224.

[HAMILTON TO HALDIMAND.]

CAMP AT PETITE RIVIERE, Nov. 1st, '78.

SIR—I have the honor to acquaint your Excellency that I have sent off from this place 22 Voitures with provisions, stores, &c., under the command of Lieut. Du Vernet, a very active and intelligent officer, who has my orders to encamp at the Forks of the Ouabash till my arrival or further orders.

I this day purpose setting off with 7 Boats loaded, and take along with me the Ottawas and Chippewas, in all 72. Four the first Chiefs of the Miamis nation have joined me, with 30 warriors. M. Chevalier came to the Miamis Town with a chief and 14 of the Poutcouattamies of St. Joseph; this and his future behavior may efface his former behavior.

Major Hay follows tomorrow with the last of the batteaux, the Poutcouattamies and the Miamis. This carrying place is free from any obstructions but what the carelessness and ignorance of the French have left and would leave from generation to generation. An intelligent person at a small expense might make it as fine a road as any within twenty miles of London. The woods are beautiful—Oak, Ash, Beech, Nutwood; very clean and of great growth. Your Excellency will, I hope, excuse my mentioning a trifling tho' curious particular. In a ridge near the road I found a sea fossil. To find marine productions on this *hauterre des terres* [height of ground] is to my mind more curious than their being found in the Alps. There are no mountains in view from Detroit to this place. so that these appearances cannot readily be accounted for from Volca-

nos, of which there is no trace to be observed. All our people, of all colors, are in perfect health and their disposition such *hitherto,* as leaves me no room for complaint.

Lieut. Du Vernet having taken a Sketch of the Miamis river, and purposing to continue his plan to the Illinois, I shall take the first opportunity of transmitting it to your Excellency, agreable to Lt. Du Vernet's request. At the same time take the liberty of commending his diligence; as to his capacity, I dare not give my opinion, knowing my own deficiency in those points, which no officer ought to be ignorant of.

I have got his French medal from Wanaquibe, chief of the Poutcouattamies of St. Joseph, in presence of 200 chiefs and warriors & the Miamis country.

Our number at present are nearly as follows: Detachment of the kings, 32 non commissioned officers included with the artillery, 2 gunners, 4 of the King's and 17 from the 2 Detroit companies, which are each at 44, officers included; La Mothes' Volunteers, 42; Ottawas, 40; Chippeways, 20; Wyandotts, 4; Poutouattamies, 15; Poutcouattamies of St. Joseph, 15; Miamis, 30 [Women are not included in this return of savages]. The Shawanese are expected this night with Captain McKee who writes me word that they attempted A Fort built by the Rebels at the falls of the Ohio, but only succeeded in destroying a parcel of Tools. I shall endeavour to cut off the communication from the Fort to the Ilinois and perhaps shall find the taking that Fort an object well worth attention. The rebels are building a Fort in the Island at the Falls. I hear the Miamis of the Riviere a l'Anguille will join us. We have had pretty sharp frost but fine clear weather. By damming up the water of this Petite Riviere, 4 miles below the landing, the water is backed and raised an inch here. At the Dam it rose an inch the first hour. The Beavers had worked hard for us, but

we were obliged to break down their dam to let the boats pass that were sent forward to clear the river and a place called the *Chemin couvert* [covered road].

M. de Celoron has a brother in the Rebel service, and I have no room to doubt his treasonable design in spreading reports which might delay us till next spring, when reinforcements from the Colonies might effectually frustrate our attempts to regain the Ilinois or keep the Indians in our interest; double pay I take it, has been his seducer, and as to his reward, I hope to have your Excellency's orders. I have ordered his suspension in the interim.

Your Excellency will, I trust, make allowance for the haste and incorrectness of this report.

I have the honor to be, with all imaginable respect, sir,

Your most humble and most obe't servant,

HENRY HAMILTON.

From Lieut. Gov. Hamilton, dated at Camp little riviere the 1st Nov., 1778. Received 19th March, 1779.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 96, P. 19.

[MAJOR DE PEYSTER TO GENERAL HALDIMAND].

MICHILIMAKINAC, 24th Oct., 1778.

SIR—Your Excellency's Letters of the 30th August and 2d of September, I received the 21st instant by De Groselier. I received about the same time a Letter from Lt. Gov. Hamilton which he left to be forwarded from Detroit. As the Indians not been gone to their several homes before I received Mr. Hamilton's Letters, it would have been in my power to have seconded his attempt which he tells me he directs in person [In person] to dispossess the Rebels at the Illinois and as it may be in my power to dispose the Indians here to co-operate by going down the Illinois River, he gives me this notice.

The Indians at present are too much dispersed for me to assemble them in a body sufficiently strong to go down that river, and I am persuaded they would not leave their wives and children in their wintering grounds, there having been no previous provision made for them. I shall however send Express to the Grand River and on the borders of Lake Michigan to endeavor to spirit up the young men to join Mr. Hamilton by the most expeditious route, ordering them to call at St. Josephs for further information of his situation. I shall also write to Mr. Chevalier to give Mr. Hamilton every assistance in his power which I fear cannot be much as the Indians mostly are gone to their hunting grounds.

I have long since by civil treatment apparently secured that gentleman to His Majesty's Interests, foreseeing that

he would become useful before those troubles could be at an end. The different representation of him by Mr. Hamilton and myself must appear extraordinary. I can assure Your Excellency that I never heard anything that could be proven to his disadvantage. On the contrary, whilst at this Post, he with a becoming decency, set his enemies at defiance. Should he, however, prove faithless the disadvantages arising from my credulity will be greatly over balanced by advantages that may occur by putting some confidence in him.

This much I am obliged to say in vindication of my judgment, as Mr. Hamilton notwithstanding my representation to him, writes me that he has represented him to Your Excellency in a very unfavorable light. I shall take every possible method to procure intelligence of the present state of the Illinois and transmit [if I receive any] by way of Detroit during the course of the winter. I have now to offer my sentiments agreeable to Your Excellency's request whether anything can be done for the recovery of the Illinois, provided Your Excellency's Instructions relative to stopping the communication of the Ohio, etc., be vigorously put in execution. I am persuaded that Mr. Gautier or some other active person may assemble a body of Indians in his direct road from La bay to the Prairie de Chien and in the River St. Pierre, to go down the Mississippi early in the Spring, which may be performed from the mouth of the Oresconsign in seven or eight days. That country is full of resources, but the Indians must have presents. Whenever we fall off from that article they are no more to be depended upon. The past is soon forgot by them except when they do us a favour. Give the Indians of this country a present and they will immediately strive to make some trifling return, which we must however give them four times the value for. To second the above mentioned Indians, the Pottawatamies must be also ordered

to move down the Illinois River followed by the Ottawas and Chippawas, those latter will be rather late, but by sending belts before them to assure the Illinois Indians that they came in friendship to them provided they join in driving out the Rebels, it will have a great effect, even the bruit of their intended March will settle them. The inhabitants of that country are not to be depended upon should the French offer to interfere, otherwise should they join the rebels it would be thro' fear of being plundered by the strange Indians. I some time ago represented a small armed vessel necessary to be under the direction of the commanding officer of this Post, as a Porte respect to the Indians, and to reconnoitre the different Bays and Creeks in Lake Michigan; also to be ready to send to Detroit on immergency and finding I could not carry on the service without one, I armed the *Welcome* to send to Labay, St. Joseph's, Milwakee, &c., as the winds are generally so strong that canoes cannot move even in a fair wind which makes their passages very tedious on the Lakes. But finding no favorable answer, indeed none at all to myself. I dismissed her. I can send such a vessell to St. Joseph and get answer to my letters in eight days or sooner, whereas I must not expect it in less than a month, if so soon, by a Canoe or small boat. The above representation was long before your Excellency took the Command.

I hope Your Excellency is acquainted with the reasons why Sir Guy Carleton ordered me to remain at this Post with an handful of men and no other command to a Captain of the Regiment and remaining quite removed from what will in all probility soon become the scene of action if the Rebels are not routed from the Illinois.

I have the honor, etc.,

A. S. DePeyster.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 96, P. 23.

[FROM MAJOR DE PEYSTER TO GEN'L HALDIMAND].

MICHILIMAKINAC, 27th Oct., 1778.

SIR—Soon after my Letter of the 24th Inst. was dispatched by a light canoe, Messrs. Langlade & Gautier arrived here and informed me that they were sent up to attend my orders. I was surprised they brought me no Letter, but they tell me that Your Excellency was at Chamblae and that Lt. Col. Cample sent them off, least the weather should get in, so as to prevent their getting up. I have come to the resolution to send those gentlemen off to give every assistance in their power to Lt. Gov. Hamilton. I have provided them with some goods which I believe with their presents amongst the Indians will do more good than I could have expected by sending dry belts by the hands of Indians. Mr. Langlade is to undertake the Grand River near which the Ottawas and Chippewas from this place winter, and Mr. Gautier is to proceed straight to St. Joseph where he will give orders for the Indians in that neighborhood to assemble, which he endeavors to get intelligence of the route Mr. Hamilton has taken, so as to be able to join him with all expedition. Mr. Hamilton by this means will not meet with any Empediment from want of such assistance as in my power to give him.

Should they find that he is returned to Detroit they then have orders to cross the country to their old station, to keep the Labay and Mississipi Indians in temper, and there wait further orders.

I also send off my interpreter to St. Josephs to bring me back necessary information.

At this present juncture I should have found the benefit of having the sloop *Welcome,* as I have been obliged to press from some of the Inhabitants their only servants to enable me to make out a canoe to transport them to St. Joseph's, and the winds are rather High.

Mr. Goddard writes me that 20 puncheons of Rum has been sent up for this Post by General Carleton's orders. I have received only 14 and the quantity therein contained would not have filled much more than that number of Tierces, nor did they arrive till after I had purchased Rum.

The goods also are sent off rather late from Montreal so that if I get them the fall they are sent, it is not till after I have been obliged to purchase, which is very disagreeable. I have the name of these things without the use of them in the season most wanted. The reports I have of the little water in the French river for loaded Canoe and of the Canoes being greatly damaged in getting up, makes me fear least they should not arrive at all.

I have the honor, etc.,

A. S. De Peyster.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 96, P. 232.

[BOLTON TO HALDIMAND.]

NIAGARA, Nov. 13th, 1778.

SIR—I have this day received a letter dated November the 8th from Captain Lernoult who informed me that soon after the *Gage* had sailed, the *Felicity* arrived from Michilimakinac and brought him a letter from Major De Peyster, in which he acquaints him that the Governor had stole a march which had he been informed of, he could greatly have added to its consequences by sending all the Indians returned from Montreal, but before he received Mr. Hamilton's letter they were all dispersed on their winter hunt. That on the arrival of Langlade and Gotier [two Indian officers] the 24th of Octobre he sent them to assemble what number of Indians could be got, at the Grand River and ordered them to rendezvous at St. Joseph's, having sent his own interpreter to receive them and employ them in such a manner as to assist the Governor's scheme. Capt. Lernoult also informs me that the Hurons and Santuske are much alarmed having lately had a message from Capt. Pipes and the Delawares, that they are in great danger from the Virginians incroachments on their land and have requested an asylum for their women and children, and also assistance from their warriors to prevent the enemy's encroachments, as they say the Virginians are coming in great bodies towards their villages. The Huron messengers acquaint him they have sent of Horses to bring the families and effects of the Delawares to Sanduske and the half-King's brother is gone to reconoitre the truth of this Report. He also observe, should a considerable number come that way they will undoubtedly attempt to destroy that

settlement which 4,000 men may accomplish in spite of all the efforts of this Garrison, particularly at this time when they are much weakened by Governor Hamilton's Detachment, which is gone quite another way, however, he will do everything in his power to defeat their purposes.

On receiving the enclosed Letter from Capt. McGee he immediately ordered Capt. *Batton* [indistinct] to sail with all expedition to Niagara in order to communicate this intelligence that I might furnish him with assistance and advice in this critical juncture.

He further acquaints me that Capt. Grant sent orders for the vessels at Fort Erie to return as soon as possible to Detroit, that no steps may be omitted in securing that post and keeping open the communication on the Lakes as long as possible. He says Capt. McGee must have joined Governor Hamilton some days before he received his letter, therefore imagines he will loose no time in turning his attention to the protection of Detroit.

I have now only to inform your Excellency that in consequence of your orders for a reinforcement to be sent to Captain Lernoult, I ordered some time ago, a captain, two subaltern and fifty-nine men to Detroit, full as many [if not more] as this post ought to spare, considering the present strength of the Garrison, particularly too, at this time of the year, for soon it will be impossible for the vessels to navigate the Lakes and of course we shall be deprived of all hopes of assistance from Canada this winter.

I have the honor to be, &c,

MASON BOLTON.

P. S.—This moment I have received the enclosed Letter from Ensign Twiss, but the reports he has heard I can scarce give any credit to. Its calculated, I supose, to serve some scheme of the rebels for they have from the commencement of these troubles succeeding merely by cun-

ning and some false piece of news brought by their friends. Some days ago we had a report from Detroit that their Army were to take different routes, two by Seneca Country and Presque Isle in order to attack this Post, and the other by Sandusky to Detroit. I must also observe should Captain Butler fail of success, the Indian country and of course a passage to this post, will be laid opened, besides if I could send even 100 men with officers, it is my opinion it could only serve to weaken this Garrison without materially serving Detroit, were [where] canon and 4,000 men are expected.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 234.

Return of the Militia of Poste Vincenne who were in pay of the Rebels, as also of those who bore Commissions and were enrol'd without pay & who laid down their arms the 17th Dec'r, 1778.

	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenant.	Ensigns.	Ind. Agents.	Adjutant.	Commissary.	Interpreter.	Serjeants.	Rank & File.
In pay of the Rebells.	....	2	2	2	....	....	....	1	4	36
Enrol'd with officers who bore Commissions	1	2	....	....	1	....	1	....	....	160
Without Commissions	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....
Total	1	4	2	2	1	1	1	1	4	216

Officers who were on pay—

Francois Bosseron,
J. Baptiste Cardinal, } Captains.

Timothi Monbrun,
Michael Boulliette, } Lieutenants.

J. B. Vanchese Lajeunnesse,
Nicholas Perot, } Ensigns.

Hypolite Baulon, Indian Interpreter.

HENRY HAMILTON.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 182, P. 14.

AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

A DECLARATION.

Addressed in the name of the King of France to all the Ancient French in North America.

[TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH].

The undersigned Authorized by His Majesty and thence cloathed with the noblest of titles, with that which effaces all others, charged in the name of the Father of his Country and the benificient protector of his Subjects to offer a support to those who were born to enjoy the blessings of His Government.

To all his Countrymen in North America:

You were born French, you never could cease to be French.

The late war which was not declared but by the Captivity of nearly all our Seamen and the principal advantages of which our common enemies entirely owed to the courage, the talents and the numbers of the brave Americans who are now fighting against them, has wrested from you that which is most dear to all men, even the name of your Country.

To compel you to bear the arms of parricides against it must be the completion of misfortunes: With this you are now threatened. A new war may justly make you dread being obliged to submit to this most intolerable

law of Slavery. It has commenced like the last by depredations upon the most valuable part of our Trade. Too long already have a great number of unfortunate Frenchmen been confined in American Prisons. You hear their Groans. The present War was declared by a message in March last, from the King of Great Britain to both houses of Parliament, a most authentic act of the British sovereignty, announcing to all orders of the state that to trade [with America] though without excluding others from the same right was to offend, that frankly to avow such intention was to defy this Sovereignty, that she would revenge it, and deferred this only to a more advantageous opportunity when she might do it with more appearance of legality than in the last war.

For she declared she had the right, the will and the ability to revenge, and accordingly She demanded of Parliament the supplies.

The Calamities of a war thus proclaimed, have been restrained and retarded as much as was possible by a monarch whose pacific and disinterested views now reclaim the marks of your former attachment, only for your own happiness.

Constrained to repel force by force, and multiplied hostilities by reprisals which he has at last authorized if necessity should carry his arms, or those of his Allies, into a Country always dear to him, you have not to fear either burning or devastations, and if gratitude, if the view of a Flag always revered by those who have followed it, should recall to the banners of France, or of the United States, the Indians who loved us, and have been loaded with Presents by him whom they also call their Father, never, no, never, shall they employ against you their too cruel methods of War. These they must renounce or they will cease to be our Friends.

It is not by menaces that we shall endeavour to avoid combating with our countrymen, nor shall we weaken this Declaration by invectives against a brave nation which we know how to respect, and hope to vanquish.

As a French Gentleman, I need not mention to those among you who were born such, as well as myself, that there is but one August house in the universe under which the French can be happy and serve with pleasure, since its head, and those who are most nearly allied to him by blood, have been at all times through a long line of Monarchs, and are at this day more than ever delighted with hearing that very title which Henry IV regarded as the first of his own, I shall not excite your regrets for those qualifications, these marks of distinction, those decorations which, in our manner of thinking, are precious treasures, but from which by our common misfortunes, the American French who have known so well how to deserve them, are now precluded. These, I am bold to hope, and to promise, their zeal will very soon procure to be diffused among them.

They will merit them when they dare to become the friends of our Allies.

I shall not ask the Military Companions of the Marquis of Levi, those who shared his glory, who admired his talents and genius for war, who loved his cordiality and frankness, the principal characteristics of our nobility, whether there be other names in other nations, among which they could be better pleased to place their own.

Can the Canadians who saw the brave Montcalm fall in their defense, can they become the enemies of his nephew? Can they fight against their former leaders, and arm themselves against their kinsmen? At the bare mention of their names, the weapons would fall out of their hands.

I shall not observe to the ministers of the Altars that their evangelic efforts will require the special protection of Providence to prevent faith being diminished by example,

by worldly interest and by Sovereigns whom force has imposed upon them, and whose political indulgence will be lessened proportionately as those Sovereigns shall have less to fear.

I shall not observe that it is necessary for Religion that those who preach it should form a body in the States, and that in Canada no other body would be more considered or have more power to do good than that of the Priests taking a part in the Government, since their respectable conduct has merited the confidence of the people.

I shall not represent to the people, nor to all my countrymen in general, that a vast monarchy having the same religion, the same manner, the same language, where they find kinsmen, old friends and brethren, must be an inexhaustible source of commerce and wealth, more easily acquired and better secured by their union with powerful neighbors, than with strangers of another hemisphere among whom everything is different, and who jealous and despotic Governments would sooner or later treat them as a conquered people, and doubtless much worse than their late Countrymen the Americans, who made them Victorious. I shall not urge to a whole people that to join with the United States is to secure their own happiness, since the whole people, when they acquire the right of thinking and acting for themselves, must know their own Interest. But I will declare, and I now formally declare in the name of His Majesty, who has authorized and commanded me to do it, that all his former subjects in North America, who shall no more acknowledge the Supremacy of Great Britain may depend upon his protection and Support.

Done on board his majesty's Ship, the Languedoc, in the harbor of Boston, the 28th day of October, in the year 1778.

ESTAING.

Vigiel de Grandolos, secretary, appointed by the King to the squadron commanded by the Count D'Estaing.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 263.

[HAMILTON TO DE GALVIS].

SIR—Mr. Le Comte having desired permission to pass to New Orleans, I embrace the opportunity of kissing your Excellency's hand and at the same time of acquainting you with the circumstance which procures me that honor. The Rebel Americans, having yet footing in the Illinois country and in course having opened communication to the Colonies by taking post there and at this place, I thought it my duty to dispossess them as soon as possible.

For this purpose I set out with a small force from Detroit so late as the seventh of last October, and arrived here on the 17th of December, having a few Chiefs and Warriors of 13 different nations along with me. Having taken possession of the Fort and received the submission of the Inhabitants, who laid down their arms and swore allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, I have contented myself this winter with sending our parties to different quarters.

Your Excellency cannot be unacquainted with what was commonly practiced in the time of your predecessor in the government of N. Orleans, I mean the sending supplies of Gunpowder and other Stores to the Rebels then in Arms against their Sovereign.

Tho this may have been transacted in a manner unknown to the Governor, by the Merchants, I must suppose that under Your Excellency's orders, such commerce will be positively prohibited.

The several nations of savages who accompanied me to this country may [if this traffic be continued] forget the instructions I have given them from time to time, with relation to the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, but the na-

tions, Inhabitants of the banks of the Ohio River, must be particularly jealous of strangers coming thro' their country to supply the Rebels with whom they are actually at War.

At the same time that I mention this to Your Excellency for the sake of individuals who might suffer from their ignorance of the English being in possession of this Post, and of the communication by water to the Mississipi, I think it incumbent on me to represent to Your Excellency that the Rebels at Kaskasquias, being in daily apprehension of the arrival of a body of men from the upper posts, accompanied by the savages from that quarter have declared that they will take refuge on the Spanish Territory as soon as they are apprized of their coming.

As it is my intention early in the spring to take a progress towards the Illinois, I shall represent to the officers commanding several small Forts and posts on the Mississippi for His Catholic Majesty, the impropriety of affording an Asylum to Rebels in Arms against their lawful Sovereign. If after such a representation the Rebels should find shelter in any Fort or post on the Mississippi it will become my duty to dislodge them, in which case their protectors must blame their own conduct, if they should suffer any inconvenience in consequence.

Perhaps I may be favor'd with a letter from Your Excellency before the arrival of reinforcements. I expect next spring at the same time that the officers acting under Your Excellency's orders, may receive notice how they are to act, whether as friends or enemies to the British Empire.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your Excellency's most devoted and most obedient humble Servant,

HENRY HAMILTON.

St. Vincennes, Jan. 13, 1779.

To His Excellency, Don Bernardo de Galvis, Governor, &c., of N. Orleans.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 308.

[KILLBUCK TO MONTOUR].

COOSHOCKING, January 18, 1779.

Mr. John Montour:

I will inform you herewith that I and my Councellors shall be very glad to see you here at Cooshocking. I wish therefore that you would arise and come as soon as possible. I assure you that you shall have nothing to fear or to be doubtfull in anything. You shall be treated very kindly by our brothers the United States..

Colonel Morgan, who is now at Pittsburg, and your friend Mr. Dodge, are much desirous to see you.

As you know and understand matters better than others you will endeavour to explain to the Wyandots and other nations what a strong chain of friendship we have made with the United States, and encourage them to take hold of it likewise. It is not yet too late, it is time yet, if they will accept of Peace. I am your friend,

GALALEMEND.

Capt. John Killbuck to Mr. John Montour.

FORT PITT, January 4th 1779.

[DODGE TO MONTOUR.]

Dear Friend Montour:

It is with the greatest pleasure that I inform you that I made my escape out of Quebec the ninth of October last, the enemy, and am now arrived safe here at this place.

I have said all I could in your favor and you may depend on it that you will be treated by the Americans as a friend now. It is therefore the desire of Colonel George Morgan and also of your friend John Dodge that you might come as soon as possible to this place, where you may depend that you will be treated well and receive an immediate employ, as also good wages.

We also desire you to send for *Shaganoba,* the young Tawaa Chief *Augushawa,* the head Warrior of the Ottawa nation, and as many of the Wyandots, Potawetamies and Chibwas as you can send word to, and let them know that I am here and shall be glad to speak to them whenever they come, or may appoint a time when we will meet one another and rejoice with one another. I am impatient to see you and you know we are good friends. Fear nothing, for nobody will hurt you, and you will find it to your advantage.

I am your friend,

JOHN DODGE.

To Mr. John Monture.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 311.

OCHI TOWN, Jan'y 19, 1779.

[ZEISBERGER TO GIBSON.]

DEAR SIR—Captain John Killbuck this evening sent messengers here whom he desired me to inform you of the following Intelligence. They had today by two Warriors who came to Cooshocking and were going to war but were stop'd. They told that 13 days ago two companies of warriors, one of seven and the other of 18 men, among the latter is Simon Gistie [Girty?]; were gone to Fort Lawrence in order to get Col. Gibson's scalp. Their scheme is to deceive you by carrying Deer's tails on their heads and by that means to get into the Fort.

Captain Killbuck therefore thinks proper as the enemies have got notice of the Token by which the Friendly Delaware Indians are known at the Fort. Another token should be fixed upon, which you will think on and let me know.

These two warriors which at first was unwilling to tell anything,said it had been forbidden them to make it known at Cooshocking, as they would give you intelligence of it.

They further said that the full moon after the next [which will be about the 2d of March] they intend to attack Fort St. Lawrence with a great number of warriors [and if not white people along with them is a question] at present they were assembling and mustering up their Warriors at St. Dusky and Detroit to be ready at the appointed time. At Mamakossing are now two Warriors, Capt'n with their men, but cannot learn how many in number, nor what they are about; likewise they say that the Enemies intention is to fetch off the Ministers here.

This intelligence we inform you of as we had it. We cannot tell for certain if it is all true, but will give you warning to be upon your guard, and as we suppose Mr. Sample to be on his way hither, who will be in danger, Cap'n Killbuck resolved to send six men to meet him and conduct him hither, but if they should not meet him to proceed to Fort Lawrence. He desireth you if they come to you to fill their Horns with powder and give them some Lead.

I am exceeding glad and much obliged to you for having our safety at heart, and that you informed the General of it to fall upon some plan for our protection, and you see by this it is necessary indeed of Col. Morgan. I had no letter at all, but a speech to the Council at Cooshocking of which to mention, time is too short now, as it is late at night and the messengers are to set off very early tomorrow morning.

Mr. Sullivan will go from hence straightway with some Indians to conduct him to Fort McIntosh.

Present my best comp'ts to the Gentlemen officers of the Garrison.

I am, dear Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,

D. ZEISBERGER.

To Jno. Gibson, Colo. Command't. at Fort Lawrence.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 309.

[GIBSON TO MCINTOSH].

DEAR GENERAL—Yours of the 8th inst. came safe to hand by Capt. Clark of the 8th Pennsyla. Regt. by whom I received 46 suits of clothes, 196 shirts, 11 pairs of shoes and five Caggs of Whiskey, which is but a poor supply for our present wants. Not one of my Artificers came with the Party and Col. Brodhead has order'd all his to join him.

By the enclosed letter from the Rev'd Mr. Zeisberger, you will be informed of the intention of the Savages and what we have to expect from them, you may depend on it I shall be on my guard. I hope if Mr. Gistre comes to pay a visit I shall be able to trapann him. Should the Indians penn us up, we shall be in a very distrest condition, unless timely supplies are sent to us which always should be sent with a strong escort, as they will endeavour to waylay the road. I am greatly surprized [that] the stores which Mr. Sample wrote for, have never been forwarded by the Quarter master. We have not a single nail to make a Sentry Box or a door for the Stores.

Can no method be fallen on to protect the poor Ministers and our Delaware friends? Unless something can be done in a few weeks we must lose them. If Horses can be procured Provisions can be brought from Fort Pitt this month and next, as soon as in the summer which if we had a sufficient quantity of them, then, they might be moved up here. For God's sake, dear General, strain a point to save them; they really merit it. The Medicines I wrote for have never been sent, and those we had are entirely expended. Mr. Berry has never made his appearance. I am

determined to call him to account for his conduct. Pray do not let Mrs. Sample know her husband is gone to the towns The Indians who had their Horses stole are constantly teazing me to pay for them. Please direct me what to do as to Capt. Neal's acct. with the Regt. Capt. Beale can inform you I should be glad he would resign, and as to the Sawyer I think the Regiment would be better without him. Please to hurry up Beale and Harrison as soon as they arrive.

I am, d'r General, your most obed't and humble Servant.

JNO. GIBSON.

I shall write you in a few days by Express and enclose returns, &c. J. G.

Fort Lawrence, Jany. 22, 1779. To Brigadier General MacIntosh.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 314.

If Mr. Sample meets this he is to open the letter and read it.

[GIBSON TO BRODHEAD.]

For Colo. Bolton, Comm't. the Post on the Lakes:

DEAR COLONEL—Your kind letter with the things therein mentioned came safe to hand by Capt. Clarke and am sorry have no other return at present to make you but my bare thanks by the enclosed copy of a letter from the Rev'nd Mr. Zeisberger. The news from Cooshocking and the intentions of the savages will be made known to you. For God's sake try and spurr up old Lac to doe something for the poor Moravians and the friendly Delawares. I have sent by Capt. Clark all the men of your Regt. except the two Sawyers and the Tanner which I hope when you consider the present situation we are in, you will pardon. It is to be hoped Mr. Gen'l will soon be recalled, and things will be pushed with vigour in the Spring. Capt. Clark being only a night with us prevents my writing a longer letter as he will inform you of the Minutia of this place.

I have given him receipts for the different articles he delivered here. Pray write Colonel Morgan to try to get something done for the ministers and the people of Cooshocking. I shall write to you by express in a few days, for shall take the liberty of enclosing some letters for my friends down the country; in the meantime believe me, D'r Colo., with sincerity, your real friend and affectionate humble servant,

JOHN GIBSON.

Please make my best comp'ts to the gentlemen of MacIntosh and to Miss Nancy.

Fort Lawrence, 22nd January, 1779.

To Colonel Brodhead.

[GIBSON TO MORGAN].

DEAR SIR—The enclosed copy is a letter which I received last night from Mr. Zeisberger by which you will be informed of the intention of the savages, and the situation of the Moravians and our friends at Cooshocking. The Messengers inform me that Dan Sullivan will not return till Pekkeland and another Indian who went with dispatches which you sent to the different nations, return. Mr. Sullivan rather triffled his time here in staying five days, altho I pressed him to proceed on. For Heaven's sake push the General to try to save the poor Moravians and our friends at Cooshocking. Could not some of Colo'l. Brodhead's, the new Levies and some militia be sent to their Towns immediately to build a Fort for them, or move them up here. Mr. Girtie has not as yet made his appearance. I hope if he does to prevent his taking my scalp. The militia, or some others, when here stole five horses from our friends at Cooshocking. They have been seizing me for pay. Please mention it to the General, or direct me what to doe. The people who stole them are known, I am informed, to the General.

I expect to hear in a few days from Cooshocking and shall send an express to Fort Pitt, as soon as possible after that. I shall then write you again. Please communicate the intelligence to Major Taylor as I have refer'd him to you for news. I shall be happy to hear from you.

I am, D'r sir, y'r most obed't humble servant,

JNO. GIBSON.

Fort Lawrence, Jany 22, 1779.
Colonel Morgan.

[GIBSON TO TAYLOR.]

DEAR TAYLOR—Yesterday Capt. Clark and party arrived here by whom I received 46 suits of clothes, 194 very ordinary shirts, 11 pairs of shoes and only 5 Cags of Whisky By the copy of a letter which I have inclosed to the General and Col. Morgan, you will be inform'd of the Intentions of the Savages, which if true is bad enough, indeed.

Mr. Berry nor Mr. Ensign Harrison have not made their appearance. Please to let them know from me that it will be necessary for them to repair to this post immediately and also for them to produce something better than a bare sayso for their past conduct. Pray for God's sake hurry up Beale and Harrison as soon as they arrive. The General writes me the honor'ble, the Assembly of Virginia, have complimented the officers and soldiers of our Line with six months' pay. Generous indeed!

If any steps can be taken to get it for the Regiment try to get it done.

Endeavor to collect the stragglers of the Regiment and send them here. There is some at Stewarts' crossing and at Sullivans. What has Campbell done with our cloaths or where are the drest deer skins which he procured for the use of the Regt. Pray write me by every opportunity. I hope Col. Steele has before this time acquitted himself with honor. Present my compt's to him and to Mr. Duncan. Tell them I shall write to them again in a few days.

I am, D'r Taylor, Y'rs most sincerely,

JNO. GIBSON.

Please to send a copy of the articles of war and get

a copy of the arrangement of the Virginia line from the General and send it to me. J. G.

To Rich'd Taylor Esqre., Major of the 15th Virginia Regt., Fort Pitt, honoured by Captain Clark.

Endorsed: Copy of intercepted Letters for Col. Bolton, rec'd 17th April, 1779.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 266.

[HAMILTON TO HALDIMAND.]

ST. VINCENNES, January 24th, 1779.

SIR—The last pacquet I had the honor to write to your Excellency was sent off from this place the 30th of December, which was to be forwarded by express from Detroit.

The various reports brought to me by the savages agree in the mean as to the design of the Southern Indians, who were to make four several parties for the ensuing spring, one towards Kaskasquias to attack the Rebels there, another to go up the Ohio to assist the Shawanese, a third to come to this place to make peace with the Ouabash Indians and drive the Americans out of their Country, and the fourth to remain in the mouth of the Cherakee river to intercept any boats coming up the Mississippi or going down the Ohio. The nations latterly mentioned by the Indians to have formed this plan are the Chickasaes, Cherakees Choctaws and Alibamas. They add that they were to set out in the course of this month and that there are with them four officers who have wintered in the Cherakee river. I had sent down an officer with a few of the volunteers, and a party of savages with a chief, who were to go to Cherakee river to acquaint the savages assembled there of our being in possession of this place and to encourage them to persevere in their design, but they were met by some Delawares and Peorias, who had lately come from thence, who informed them that the Indians were dispersed hunting, 100 leagues up the Cherakee river, on which the Chief I had sent [an Ottawa] determined to go on a decouverte to Kaskasquias.

After his going, a corporal and seven men deserted in the

night, taking the Canoe and their officers' baggage with them.

They are probably gone to Kaskasquias, where some of them have relations. The officer returned with some Frenchmen whose Pirogue he had just before seized coming with Flour from Kaskasquias to this place.

The Indian chief, who is not yet returned from Kaskasquias, had nearly taken prisoner Colonel Clarke, the Commandant of the Rebels there, but some Negroes discover'd him and he was obliged to retire without effecting his purpose.

I had informed Your Excellency that I purposed strengthening this Fort by changing its form to triangular, with a Block House in Each Angle, but I have followed Mr. Hays' proposal as less Expensive and more easily defended with a small force, which is building one at the North West Angle and another at the opposite Angle, each scouring two faces of the square, the small saillant angles in each face of the square [as it now stands] to be remov'd. The Oak logs for this work are already squared and brought in, and in about eight days one Blockhouse will be finished. They are muskett proof and will each have five ports. The three prs. we found here will be mounted in them. The other angles will be loopholed and lined, having platforms for musketry.

This afternoon arrived two parties from Kaskasquias, who have failed of success, some negroes at work having given notice of them and put the Rebels on their guard.

I have written to the commandant at the Natchey, a Captain Bloomer, whose principal object is to intercept succours from New Orleans to the Rebels; by the same opportunity I write to the Governor of New Orleans, as I have some suspicion both letters may be carried to the latter, my intelligence to Captain Blcomer is of such a nature as must

dispose the Spaniards [if it should chance to fall into their hands] to keep close at home. Of the other I send Your Excellency a copy.

Tho I have no doubt at this minute of the existence of a Spanish as well as a French War yet I have as yet no account by which I may venture to act on the offensive against the subjects of Spain, which I ardently desire as there would be so little difficulty in pushing them entirely out of the Mississippi.

They have had but one Boat from New Orleans this Autumn and that loaded with liquor. The Garrisons in their posts are inconsiderable and our alliance with the Indian nations so extended that the Spaniards can have but a slender influence with them.

The Rebels have had every succour and encouragement from them they could expect, and I believe their hatred and jealousy of the English nothing abated, since their disgraceful check at the Havana.

I impatiently wait your Excellency's orders and instructions, and I hope to see a few Troops here, without which most certainly there will be no hold on the French or Indians, to say nothing of the views of the Americans.

As soon as the season will permit I shall send up to the Miamis for the Provision brought there last November. This place is incapable of furnishing a quantity, and everything is so intoleraby dear that I am afraid of incurring more expence than I can possibly avoid.

Our men, off duty, go over the river for wood, but cannot cut enough for their consumption, so that it is purchased from the inhabitants at two dollars—four-fifths of a chord.

Lieut. Du Vernet has desired leave to return to Detroit. I would wish to detain him, but he urges it, and as he came thus far voluntarily, I do not chuse to insist.

26th January. This day some Shawanese who were last year at Detroit and passed this way going to the Southward, delivered me a letter which they had received from Capt. Helm, while commanding here, dated 14th August, 178 [1778], address'd to the Head men of the Creek Indians. As the Chiefs of the other nations were assembled in my room I was glad of the opportunity of communicating to them what the messages reported, the substance of which I send enclosed to your Excellency, and shall forward to Captain Lernoult at Detroit, and to Colonel Bolton and Major Butler at Niagara.

Almost all the Indians are returned to their Castles, or on the point of moving off. They most of them promise to return to this place soon or to send others in their room. It is remarkable not a man has died of either Whites or Indians since our setting out, which circumstance has great weight with superstitious people as these are, and ought not to be thoughtlessly passed over by any.

Your Excellency will pardon me if I mention the necessity of a supply of Arms, Ammunition and Cloathing sufficient for keeping in their present disposition such a number of Indians as we wish to have dependent on us, and of course cannot be cloathed, armed or fed but at a very great expense. I have it not in my power as yet to procure an estimate of the numbers which will make their applications at this place, but am humbly of opinion no time should be lost in sending them from below, as the passage of the Miamis is very precarious even in May, from the scarcity of water, which is so great sometimes as not to admit of passing of Pirogues.

However inconvenient and disagreeable my staying at this place may be, I shall content myself so long as your Excellency may judge it necessary, or in any way conducive to the

service, and if there should be a call for my going further on this communication, I shall always be ready to act for the best.

27th. The Ottawas came to me this day with their Chiefs, who told me they were determined to stay with me and go wherever I should order them; that if I meant to go to Kaskasquias they would go also.

The Chippoweys almost all return, but tell me I may expect a number of them in the Spring.

The Hurus [Hurons] return and promise to give such an account of their treatment here and of what has passed as will induce their people to come this way in the Spring.

The Shawanese are inveterate against the Virginians, a party of them sets off tomorrow towards the Falls of Ohio, which they purpose crossing.

The Delawares hereabout have lost some Relations lately, killed by the Virginians. One of them has a Rebel passport which he makes use of to get thro' the settlement.

The Ouabache Indians are to be expected to act only from the motive of fear of the other Confederate Indians, not having the spirit of either the Southern or Northern Indians. Their situation makes them apprehensive of another visit from the Virginians. Nothing but a force sufficient to protect them will engage them to act steadyly.

28th. This day we raised one of the Blockhouses. A party of Shawanese, Delawares and Peaukeshaas set off on a scout to the Falls of Ohio; another of Poutcouattamies and Chippoweys is to follow them shortly.

Lieut. Du Vernet tells me he shall have the draught of this river ready to send off to your Excellency in a week after his arrival at Detroit.

Endorsed: From Lieut. Gov. Hamilton at Post Vincennes the 26, 27, 28 and 29 January. Rece'd 17th April.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 273.

[BY LIEUT. GOV. HAMILTON].

Substance of a Conference with the Indians, St. Vincennes, January 26th, 1779.

The Chiefs of the following nations assembled at Fort Sackville, vizt:

Shawanese, Ottawas, Chippoweys, Hurons, Miamis, Peaukaskaas, Quiquaboes, Ouiattonos, Delawares, and a man from the Creek nation, who are called Mascous by the Indians.

An Ottawa chief rose up and saluted the King, the Great Chief at Quebec, the Lt. Gov't. of Detroit, all the King's Subjects and the several nations of Indians, all in the name of the Chiefs then present.

He then address'd himself to the Shawanese and Delawares in particular exhorting them to exert themselves and be firm in their attachment to their father and all the Indians his children. 'Tis the pleasure of the Great Spirit that we should all meet this day in friendship. Let us then continue in these good dispositions and be of one heart and mind in acting in concert with our father for the defense of our lands. You see our father has it at heart since he is come thus far with that design. You have seen the attempts of the Virginians to dispossess us.

Brethren! You know that the great tree under whose shade we consult together is not planted here but at the Detroit. Let us take care to prop that tree that it may not lean to one side or other; let us keep it well water'd that its branches may shoot up to the clouds. Who is there so daring as to cut the Bark of that tree? No one.

Brethren! You may remember that last spring some Chickasaas and Cherakees came to Detroit to water that tree, be advised by our father. He is doing all he can do maintain us in the possession of those lands on which the Master of life has thought to place us.

A Shawanese then spoke: Father and my brethren—Five months are now passed since we left our own village to go to the Creek Country, from whence we are just returned. On our leaving this place the Commandant of the Fort [Capt. Helm] gave us a letter for the Chief of the Mascous, but as we apprehended it might contain something which would make the Indians uneasy we did not deliver it, but have brought it to our father, sealed.

We met on our road hither Kissingua and a white man [those that were sent to Mr. Stuart by Lt. Gov. Hamilton] on their way to that country. Kissingua desired us to tell the Indians of this river to assemble all the Prisoners they may have belonging to the Creeks, as he designed bringing in exchange any of them which might be in that Country.

The Shawanese then delivered the letter to the Lieutenant Governor, which was addressed to the Chief man of the Creeks, requiring him to keep his people quiet and not to give credit to what he should be told by the English. That the Shawanese and Oubeche Indians were in friendship with the Virginians, and referring him to the bearers for an account of the state of affairs in America.

The same Shawanese then produced a long white belt sent by the Great chief of the Creeks, which he had desired might be delivered at St. Vincennes from that sent up to Oucattonon and thence to the Lake Indians, that all the Indians might know the design of the Creeks, vizt. to be in friendship with them and at war with the Virginians, that by that belt they open'd a road which should be kept free and open that a child might walk safely in it.

He then delivered to the Grande Coite [a Peaukashaa Chief] a roll of Creek Tobacco, for him and his Allies to smoke, adding, in the name of the Creek Chief, that he smoaked of that Tobacco when he thought on good things and had pity on his Women and Children.

The Shawanese then told the Chiefs present that the upper town of the Creeks had not taken up the Hatchet against the Virginians till last spring, but that now they were all join'd, that they had ravaged the Frontiers as far as the old Shawanese villages, that they had taken several small forts, that the English had eight Forts besides the Great Stone Fort [perhaps St. Augustine], that the Rebels had made an attempt on the greatest, but that the Indians had assembled and forced them back, that 800 of the Inhabitants of the Colonies had come for protection to the English, almost naked, that they had quarrelled among each other and several had been killed, that the Indians were taken great care of by Mr. Stuart, that they wanted for nothing, having never before been so well supplied; that the Rebels said they were not alone, the French and Spaniards having joined them.

HENRY HAMILTON.
Lt. Gov. and Superintendent.

29th Jany. The Grande Quoete, the first Chief of the Peaukashaas, delivered to Lt. Gov. Hamilton a String with a Scalp hanging to it and said that he spake in the name of all the Ouabash Indians who had now found their father, that they had received his Hatchet and would use it with all their hearts; that they saw with pleasure the Messengers from the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaas, &c., and the belt which they brought would open the eyes of all their people, men, women and children, who might now see an open sky and a clear road; that the Great Spirit certainly had compassion on the Indians, since he brought them together in peace; that he would acquaint the Ouabache Indians of

the treaty of peace presented by the Southern Indians and that it might be known to the northward, he delivered their Road Belt to the Miamis.

The Miamis said they would deliver it to their elders, the Ottawas, who would forward it. The string with the scalp was delivered by Lt. Govr. Hamilton to the Chippoways to carry to Detroit to be shown to the Lake Indians.

H. HAMILTON.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 96, P. 25.
No.11.

[FROM MAJOR DE PEYSTER TO GEN'L HALDIMAND].

MICHILIMACKINAC, 29th Jan., 1779.

SIR—I did myself the honour to write to your Excellency on the 27th of October, acquainting you with the steps I had taken towards giving assistance to Lt. Govr. Hamilton, having sent Messrs. Longdale [Langlade], Gautier and Ains, is returned, with the following report, viz.: that they were detained on their way by contrary winds so that they did not reach the mouth of the Grand River till the thirteenth day of November, where Mr. Langdale [Langlade[landed agreable to his instructions; that on their way to St. Joseph's they spoke with the Ottawa Chief, who declined the Expedition for want of previous notice, but declared themselves ready in the spring; that, detained by a continuation of bad weather he and Gautier did not arrive at St. Joseph's untill the second day of December, when they found Mr. Louis Chevalier, who had been twenty-two days from Mr. Hamilton's little army which had near passed the Pays Plat before he left it; that he, Chevalier, was informed there that Gilbault [Gibault], the Priest, had been at the Post Vincent and at the oliea with a party of rebels and obliged 600 inhabitants to swear allegiance to the Congress, &c., and that by the best accounts he could get the Rebels at the Illinois did not exceed three hundred men, who were ill provided.

The above news of Mr. Hamilton having got so far the start, being told to the Indians at the Grand River, where Langdale had raised about eighty, they declined to follow

at so great a distance, on which Mr. Langdale set out for his Post at La Baye, and Gautier, finding that Mr. Chevalier had already taken the few Pottawatamies which could be raised at that advanced season to Mr. Hamilton, set out for his Post on the Mississippi, carrying with them Belts and speeches to exhort the Indians to be ready in the spring if called upon.

Your Excellency's answer to my letter of the 21st Sept. [thro' La. Col. Bolton] is just come to hand.

I have the honour, &c.,

[Signed] A. S. De Peyster.

P. S.—I should be glad to know if your Excellency will please to allow the Officer any pay for his laying out and directing the route at the Portage.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 284.

[HAMILTON TO HALDIMAND].

ST. VINCENNES, Jany 30, 1779 [not 1780].

Tomorrow the Commissary sets out with ten Pirogues to the Miamis for provision and goods sent from Detroit last November. Thirty of the Inhabitants of this place go on the Corvee.

Yesterday the principal Chief of the Peaukashaas gave me a string in presence of the other nations assembled purporting that his nation had entered heartily into the views of their brethren and would act after their example.

This day a party of his nation set off for war to the Falls of Ohio. This day also a Peoria Chief came to give me his hand. I gave him an English medal in exchange for his French one. I may venture to affirm the Indians of this country are as much united as can be expected considering the differences which have subsisted for several years among some of them and which are not easily accommodated.

By the Returns I have the honor to send to your Excellency, of this Garrison, it will appear that regulars are very few in number and need not observe how much I stand in need of the assistance of regular officers. I have such frequent interruptions from the Savages who have no other Council Chamber but my bedroom that I am sensible my letters testifie too great a want of order and method.

I have the honor to be with profound respect, Sir,

Your Excellency's most devoted and most obedient servant, HENRY HAMILTON.

Fort Sackville, 30th January, 1779.

[Postscript over leaf.]

SIR—The officers appointed to the Volunteer company of Detroit as well as the officers of militia not having Commission under your Excellency, I take the liberty of requesting that Blank Commissions may be sent for them.

Captain La Mothe was appointed in consequence of a letter from Lord George Germaine, but has no other commission than a sort of warrant from me which is a feeble hold for a man at his time of life, with a family. Should your Excellency approve of his appointment and that of two Lieutenants to the Company, it will be a great encouragement to them and to the settlement in general.

His Lordship's letter requiring dispatch, several officers and others were appointed in the Indian department, a list of whom I sent down as soon as possible to General Sir Guy Carleton for his approbation, but there has not any answer been given as yet, tho' the draughts for their pay have been answered.

On the above mentioned occasion I put on pay one Major for the six Companies, one adjutant for the Company in the Fort, consisting of 146 men, and one adjutant for the other five companies in the settlement.

I should be happy to know your Excellency's pleasure on this subject.

[*To*] His Excellency Lieut. General Haldimand, Governor and Commdr in Chief, &c., &c., &c., Quebec.

From Lieut. Gov. Hamilton at Post Vincennes of the 20th [30th] Jany, 1779.

Rec'd 17th April.

[The following is a portion of the dispatches taken from William Myers, an express messenger of General Clark. It is not complete. Nor is it the original, but a summarized abstract of a part, while it wholly omits much of the original document itself. H. W. Beckwith, Editor].

JOURNAL OF G. R. CLARK.

[FROM CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL, 122, P. 289.]

"What precedes this part of Colonel Clark's journal is only an account of his setting out, and his march till the 23d of February."

"Set off very early, waded better than three miles on a stretch; our people prodigious [weak], yet they keep up a good heart in hopes of a speedy sight of our enemies. At last, about two o'clock, we came in sight of this long-sought town and enemy all quiet; the spirits of my men seemed to revive. We marched up under cover of a wood, called the Warrior's island, where we lay concealed until sunset. Several of the inhabitants were out a shooting, by which was assured they had no intelligence of us yet. I sent out two men to bring in one, who came, and I sent him to town to inform the inhabitants I was near them, ordering all those attached to the king of England to enter the fort and defend it, those who desired to be friends to keep in their houses. I ordered the march in the first division, Captain Williams's, Captain Worthington's companies, and the Kaskaskia volunteers, in the second, commanded by Captain Bowman, his own company, and the Cohos volunteers. At sundown I put the divisions in motion to march in the greatest order and regularity, and observe the orders of their officers. Above all, to be silent. The five men we took in our canoes were our guides. We entered the town on the upper part, having detached Lieut-

enant Baley and fifteen riflemen to attack the fort and keep up a fire to harass them until we took possession of the town, and they were to remain on that duty till relieved by another party. The two divisions marched into the town and took possession of the main street, put guards, &c., without the least molestation. I continued all night sending parties out to annoy the enemy, and caused a trench to be thrown up across the main street about two hundred yards from the fort gate. We had intelligence that Captain Lamotte and thirty men were sent out about three hours before our arrival to reconnoiter, as it seems they had some suspicion of a party being near them. One Maisonville and a party of Indians, coming up the Ohnabadie with two prisoners made on the Ohio, had discovered our fires, and they arrived here a few days before us. I ordered out a party immediately to intercept them and took said Maisonville and one man. They gave us no intelligence worth mentioning.

"24th. As soon as daylight appeared the enemy perceived our works and began a very smart fire of small arms at it, but could not bring their cannon to bear on them. About eight o'clock I sent a flag of truce with a letter, desiring Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, in order to save the impending storm that hung over his head, immediately to surrender up the garrison, fort, stores, etc., and at his peril not to destroy any one article now in the said garrison, or to hurt any house, etc., belonging to the inhabitants, for if he did, by heaven, he might expect no mercy. His answer was: 'Governor Hamilton begs leave to acquaint Colonel Clark that he and his garrison were not disposed to be awed into any action unworthy of British subjects.' I then ordered out parties to attack the fort, and the firing began very smartly on both sides. One of my men, through a bravery known but to Americans, walked carelessly up the main street, was slightly wounded

over the left eye, but no ways dangerous. About twelve o'clock the firing from the fort suspended, and I perceived a flag coming out. I ordered my people to stop firing till further orders. I soon perceived it was Captain Helm, who, after salutations, informed me that the purport of his commission was, that Lieutenant Governor Hamilton was willing to surrender up the fort and garrison, provided Colonel Clark would grant him honorable terms, and he begged Colonel Clark to come into the fort to confer with him. First, I desired Captain Helm not to give any intelligence of Governor Hamilton's strength, etc., being as his parole. Second, my answer to Governor Hamilton was, that I should not agree to any other terms than that Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton should immediately surrender at discretion, and allowed him half an hour to consider thereof. As to entering the fort, my officers and men would not allow of it, for it was with difficulty I restrained them from storming the garrison. I dismissed Capain Helm with my answer. At the time allowed, Captain Helm came back with Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton's proposals, which were: 'Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton proposes to Colonel Clark a truce for three days, during which time there shall no defensive works be carried on the garrison, provided Colonel Clark shall observe the like cessation on his part; he further proposes that whatever may pass between them two, and any person mutually agreed upon to be present, shall remain secret until matters be finally determined, as he wishes that whatever the result of their conference may be, the honor and credit of each may be considered. So he wishes he may confer with Colonel Clark as soon as may be. As Colonel Clark makes a difficulty of coming into the fort, Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton will speak to him before the gate.

" '24th February, 1779. [Signed] H. Hamilton.'

"This moment received intelligence that a party of Indians are coming up from the falls with prisoners or scalps, which party were sent out by Governor Hamilton for that purpose. My people were so enraged they immediately intercepted the party, which consisted of eight Indians and a Frenchman of the garrison. They killed three on the spot and brought four in who were tomahawked in the street opposite the fort gate and thrown into the river. Frenchman we showed mercy, as his aged father had behaved so well in my party. I relieved the two prisoners who were French hunters on the Ohio; after which Captain Helm carried my answer—thus: 'Colonel Clark's compliments to Governor Hamilton, and begs leave to inform him that Colonel Clark will not agree to any other terms than of Governor's Hamilton's surrendering himself and garrison, prisoners at discretion. If Governor Hamilton desires a conference with Colonel Clark he will meet him at the church with Capt. Helm.

" '24th February, 1779. [Signed] G. R. Clark.'

"I immediately repaired there to confer with Governor Hamilton, where I met him and Captain Helm. Governor Hamilton then begged I would consider the situation of both parties; that he was willing to surrender the garrison, but was in hopes that Colonel Clark would let him do it with honor. I answered him: 'I have been informed that he had eight hundred men. I have not that number, but I came to fight that number.' Governor Hamilton then replied: 'Who could give you this false information?' 'I am, sir,' replied I, 'well acquainted with your strength and force, and am able to take your fort, therefore I will give no other terms but to submit yourself and garrison to my discretion and mercy.' He replied, 'Sir, my men are brave and willing to stand by me to the last. If I can't surrender on honorable terms, I'll fight it out to the last.'

I answered: 'This will give my men infinite satisfaction and pleasure, for it is their desire.' He left and went a few paces aloof. I told Captain Helm, 'Sir, you are a prisoner on your parole. I desire you to reconduct Governor Hamilton into the fort and there remain till I retake you.' Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton then returned saying, 'Colonel Clark, why will you force me to dishonor myself when you can not acquire more honor by it?' I told him: 'Could I look upon you, sir, as a gentleman, I would do to the utmost of my power; but on you, sir, who have embued your hands in the blood of our women and children, honor, my country, everything calls upon me aloud for vengeance.'—*Governor Hamilton*—'I know, sir, my character has been stained, but not deservedly, for I have always endeavored to instill humanity as much as possible to the Indians whom the orders of my superiors obliged me to employ.' *Colonel Clark*—'Sir, speak no more on this subject; my blood glows within my veins to think on the cruelties your Indian parties have committed, therefore repair to your fort and prepare for battle;' on which I turned off, and the governor and Captain Helm toward the fort. When Captain Helm says, 'Gentlemen, pray don't be warm, strive to save many lives which may be useful to their country, which will unavoidably fall in case you don't agree,' on which we again conferred. Governor Hamilton said: 'Is there nothing to be done but fighting?' 'Yes sir; I will send you such articles as I think proper to allow; if you accept them, well. I will allow you half an hour to consider on them,' on which Captain Helm came with me to take them to Governor Hamilton. Having assembled my officers, I sent the following articles, viz:

" '1st. Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton engages to deliver up to Colonel Clark, Fort Sackville as it is at present, with all the stores, ammunition, provisions, etc.

" '2d. The garrison will deliver themselves up prisoners of war, to march out with their arms, accoutrements, knapsacks, etc.

" '3d. The garrison to be delivered up tomorrow morning at ten o'clock.

" '4th. Three days to be allowed to the garrison to settle their accounts with the traders of this place and inhabitants.

" '5th. The officers of the garrison to be allowed their necessary baggage, etc.

" '[Signed] G. R. CLARK.

" 'Post Vincent, 24th February, 1779.'

"Within the limited time Captain Helm returned with the articles signed thus, viz.:

" 'Agreed to, for the following reasons: Remoteness from success; the state and quantity of provisions, &c.; the unanimity of officers and men on its expediency; the honorable terms allowed, and the confidence in a generous enemy.

" '[Signed] HENRY HAMILTON,
" 'Lieutenant-Governor and Superintendent.'

"27th. The Willing [a boat] arrived at three o'clock. She was detained by the strong current on the Ouabache and Ohio. Second lieutenant and forty-eight men with two iron four-pounders and two swivels on board The Willing. 1st."

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 297.

[HAMILTON TO LERNOULT.]

SIR—As Mr. Cournailler proposes to go to Detroit for his private affairs I request of you to permit him to return when he shall have transacted his business. I believe him to be deserving of this indulgence, or should not have given you this trouble.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

HENRY HAMILTON.

By permission of Col. Clark.

At St. Vincennes, March 8th, 1779.

Capt. Lernoult, commd't at Detroit.

Endorsed: Copy of Gov. Hamilton's and Jehu Hay's letter in favour of Mr. Cournailler, who brought them to Detroit.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 298.

This certifies that the bearer, Mr. Piere Cournailler, was very obliging and kind to all the officers who were taken prisoners with Lt.-Gov. Hamilton at Fort Sackville, for which reason I recommend him to the notice of those of my acquaintance wherever he may meet them.

JEHU HAY.

Post Vincennes, 8th March, 1779.

N. B.—This was enclosed in Gov. Hamilton's letter in favor of Mr. Cournailler. R. B. L.

Endorsed: Certificate by Mr. Hay in favor of Mons'r. Cournalier.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 304.

[G. R. CLARK TO GOVERNOR HENRY.]

DEAR SIR—By William Moiers You wrote to me if possible to procure you some Horses and Mares. Nothing could give me greater pleasure than to serve, but I doubt at present it is out of my power as my situation and circumstances is much altered as pr Letter. There being no such horses here as you request me to get and I have so much publick business to do, especially in the Indian departm't, that I doubt I shall not be able to go to the Illinois for some time. I find that you have conceived a greater opinion of the horses in this country than I have. The Pawnee and Chicasa horses are very good and some of them delicate, but the common breed in this country is triffling, as they are adulterated. The finest Stallion by far that is in the Country—I purchased some time ago and rode him on this Expedition and resolved to make you a compliment of him, but to my mortification I find it impossible to get him across the drown'd lands of the Wabash as it is near three leagues across at present and no appearance of its falling shortly, but you depend that I shall by the first opportunity send him to you. He came from New Mexico three hundred leagues west of this. I don't think it in my power to send you such mares as you want this spring, but in order to procure you the best can be got, I shall contract with some man of the Spanish government by permit of the command't, to go to the Pawnee nation two hundred leagues west, and get the finest mares to be had of the true blood. They will be good as they are all so;

if they are handsome they will please you. I shall give such instructions as will be necessary and am in hopes that you will get them by the fall.

I could get five or six mares soon, at the Illinois, very fine, but I think they are hurt by hard usage as the Inhabitants are barbarous Horse Masters, but shall do it except I can execute my other plan. I thank you for your remembrance of my situation respecting lands in the Frontiers. I learn that government has reserved on the lands on the Cumberland for the Soldiers.

If I should be deprived of a certain tract of land on the river which I purchased three years ago, I have been at a considerable expence to improve, I shall in a manner lose my all.

It is known by the name of the great French Lick, on the South or West side containing three thousand acres. If you can do anything for me in saving of it, I shall forever remember it with gratitude.

There is glorious situations and bodies of land in this country formerly purchased. I am in hopes of being able in a short time to send you a map of the whole. My comp'ts to your Lady and familly.

I remain, sir, your humble Servant,

G. R. CLARK.

Fort Pt. Henry, March 9th, 1779.

To His Excellency Pat. Henry, Esq., Governor of Virginia, Williamsburg.

Pr William Moires [Myers].

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 307.

[CLARK TO HARRISON].

FORT PT. HENRY, St. Vincent, March 10th, 1779.

D'R. SIR—I received your kind letter with the thanks of the House inclosed. I must confess, sir, that I think my country has done me more honor than I merited, but may rest assured that my study shall be to diserve that Honor they have already conferr'd on me.

By my publick letters you will be fully acquainted with my late successful expedition against Lt.-Govr. Hamilton, who has fallen into my hands with all the principal Partizans of Detroit. This Stroke will nearly put an end to the Indian war. Had I but men enough to take the advantage of the present confusion of the Indian nations I could silence the whole in two months. I learn that five hundred men is ordered out to reinforce me. If they arrive, with what I have in the country, I am in hopes will enable me to do something clever.

I am with respect, Sir, your very humble servant,

G. R. CLARK.

Col. Harrison, speaker of the House D., Williamsburg.
Pr William Moires [Myers].

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 303.

Copy taken by a party of Hurons at the Falls of the Ohio.

[BOWMAN TO GOVERNOR HENRY].

ST. VINCENT, March 12th, 1779.

SIR—I take the opportunity to return my thanks for your kind remembrance of me and the honor you have conferr'd on me in appointing me to a Majority. I hope my future conduct will be such as to discharge with honor the trust reposed in me by my country, and satisfaction to you.

I am, Sir, with the greatest esteem and regard your most obed't and very humble servant,

JOS. BOWMAN.

To His Excellency, Pr. Henry, Gov'r Virginia, Williamsbourg.

Pr express William Moiers [Myers].

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 302.

WILLIAM MOIRES, EXPRESS,

A

WARRANT

TO WILLIAM MOIRES.

Sr, as the Letters you have at present contain matters of great consequence and requires a quick passage to Williamsburg, this is to empower you to press for the service anything you may stand in need of. If you cannot get it by fair means, you are to use force of arms. I request you to lose no time as you prize the interest of your Country.

I wish you success, &c. G. R. CLARK.

Fort Pt. Henry, March 13th, 1779.

Endorsed: No. 1. Copy of a warrant taken with the letters.

Residence of Gen. John Edgar, Kaskaskia.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 301.

Received by Mr. Corneiller the 7th April.

[CLARK TO LERNOULT].

FORT P. HENRY, St. Vincent, March 16th, 1779.

SIR—As many of the gentlemen that fell into my hands at this Post left letters at their departure for their friends at Detroit I have enclosed them to you, hoping that you will expedite them to the persons directed to. As a few of the Inhabitants of this town, with a number of our own people have permits to go to Detroit on their lawfull business, I hope you will not detain such as should want to return, as you may be assured that I want no Intelligence from them.

You have one Mr. Bentley, Inhabitant of the Illinois, a prisoner among you. I would fondly exchange one for him of equal rank if agreeable. I learn by your letter to Gov. Hamilton that you were very busy making new works. I am glad to hear it as it saves the Americans some expences in building.

My comp'ts to the Gentlemen of yr Garrison.

I am yours, &c.,

G. R. CLARK.

To Capt. Lernoult:

The officers of Fort Post Henry solicit Capt. Lernoult to present their compliments to the officers of his Garrison.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 299.

FORT P. HENRY ST. VINCENT, March 20th, 1779.

[BOWMAN TO LERNOULT.]

SIR—In justice to my Countryman, Mr. Thomas Bentley, who has been detained in Canada almost two years a prisoner, to the ruin of his business and distraction of his family, I hope you will therefore consider the lenity shown to the Prisoners that fell into the hands of Colonel George Rogers Clark at this Post, who upon application obtained permission from the Colonel to return to his famillys at Detroit and that you will also apply to the Command'r in Chief in Canada, to obtain the permission for the said Thos. Bentley in order that he may once more return to his family, which suffer much by his absence.

I am Sir, yr most humble servant,

JOS. BOWMAN
Major in Col. Clark's Battallion.

On public service: Capt. R. B. Lernoult, Esq.,
Command't at Detroit.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 300.

FORT P. HENRY, St. Vincent, 21st March, 1779.

[GIRAULT TO LERNOULT.]

SIR—Gratitude obliges me to adddess you these lines to represent to you the case of one of my benefactors, Thomas Bentley, Esq., who has been detained either in Canada or on the way these two years almost, and that on mere suspicion. Hoping that in consideration of Colonel Clarke's humane treatment to those he took here, who we found in arms against us, notwithstanding which the Colonel sent them to their respective homes to join their famillys without detaining them one moment, you will if in your power, procure the said Thos. Bentley, Esq., liberty to return to his familly. It is impossible to express the losses he has sustained by this absence, having no one to look to his Interest. I shall not be tedious, as you are a sufficient judge of his sufferings. I rest assured that your generosity and humanity will not allow you to look over this, but in compensation to Colo. Clark's kind treatment to so many of your people, you will certainly obtain Mr. Bentley's liberty as soon as you possibly can and send him to his distressed Familly and confused affairs, by absence. This will ever be acknowledged as a most particular favor granted to, Sir, your very obedient and humble serv't,

JOHN GIRCIULT [GIRAULT].
Lt. in Col. Clark's Batalion.

On public service: Capt. Lernoult, Commd't. Detroit.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 96, P. 27.

No. 12.

[From Major De Peyster to Gen'l. Haldimand:]

MICHILIMAKINAC, 29th March, 1779.

SIR—I did myself the honour to write to your Excellency the 29th January, when I informed you that Langlade had failed in his attempt to move the Indians from their hunting grounds as they heard that the Lieut'n. Govr. Hamilton had got so much the start of them since which I received a letter from Mr. Louis Chevalier of St. Joseph's informing me that the Pottawatamies were returned home to pass the winter, that they brought him a letter from the Lieutn. Governor informing him that he intended not to leave Post Vincent till the spring. I should have been glad to have had a line at the same time. However, in complyance with your Excellency's Orders to give every assistance in my power, I again ordered the Ottawas and Chippewas to march and send off Express to Mr. Gautier requiring him to move down with a body of sabres, Foxes & Wesnippigoes, and he by this time should be on the March, joined by some active Canadians.

A few days ago arrived an Express from Captn. Lernoult, which gives me reason to imagine that an attempt will be made upon Detroit this Spring. I have therefore thought it most prudent to send to stop the Ottawas and Chippawas least I should be left without either to assist here or to send to Detroit if occasion should require it, and I am confident that it would be attended with very bad consequences if I suffered the Indians to go so far in search of the enemy when I hear that so formidable Body is advancing towards

Detroit. Besides, from the repeated messages sent to Lieut. Govr. Hamilton, I have reason to suppose he will return to take up his government. Should it not be the case, he will still have as many Indians as he can manage. Gautier is to proceed at all events, who will be sufficiently strong to harass the Rebels should they attempt to follow Mr. Hamilton in his retreat.

The Indians properly called Grand River Indians I have advised to go directly to Detroit, as it is but a short cut across the country, and I send the Chief Matchigrins with his band from Thunder Bay, also to hearten the Indians about Detroit, as the eyes of most nations are upon him. He will serve as an Earnest of further assistance from this quarter when the Indians arrive if required.

Thus, Sir, I have endeavoured to act as appeared to me would be most conducive to the good of His Majesty's Service, which I hope will meet with your approbation.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

[Signed] A. S. De Peyster.

P. S.—I hope your Excellency will excuse the liberty I take in requesting of you to forward the enclosed in your packet to New York, where my affairs are greatly suffering, and I fear my letter never got there.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 96, P. 258.

NIAGARA, 2nd April, 1779.

[BOLTON TO HALDIMAND WITH ENCLOSURE].

SIR—I have received an express from Capt. Lernoult by the felicity a copy of his Letter I beg leave to lay before your Excellency.

[LERNOULT TO BOLTON].

DETROIT, March 26th, 1779.

SIR—I had just received copies of the several Letters taken by the Indians near Fort Lawrence and the Extracts of Governor Hamilton's and Mr. Hay's Letter when one Isidore Chaina [an interpreter] and two Hurons arrived from Post Vincent with the unfortunate news of that place having been retaken by a Colonel Clarke, the Governor and whole Garrison made prisoners, except himself, who made his escape with difficulty. This most unlucky shake, with the approach of so large a body of Virginians advancing towards St. Duskie has greatly damped the spirit of the Indians.

The Chiefs from St. Duskie [Sandusky] are come in here with John Montaine to claim Governor Hamilton's promises to assist them. They declare if a large detachment of [Troops?] with cannon are not sent without delay from below, they must go out of the way, being not able to fight the enemy alone. As the loss of this Post opens a new Road for the Virginians to this place by the Miamis River, I hope a strong reinforcement will be sent here from Niagara by return of the Vessels, at least what they can convey. As the

new Work is not yet defencible, requiring many hands, the Canadians exceedingly assuming on our bad success and weakness, not one of them will lend a hand. Spades, shovels, &c., are much wanted, also ammunition as per inclosed return, above 30,000 lbs. of flower [flour] of last year's allowance not as yet sent here, with other species in proportion, and the enormous quantity consumed in the last unfortunate expedition has reduced us greatly, pray forward it, for the Indians insist on having provisions sent to them or they must starve. The loss of Governor Hamilton is a most feeling one to me. I find the burden heavy without assistance, it requires I must confess superior abilities and a better constitution. I will do my best, however.

I beg leave to repeat to you the necessity of a reinforcement being sent, as the consequence may be fatal.

I send the *Felicity* with this paquet, which with the *Angelica* already down will convey part of the Troops of the Indian Chiefs [who] wait the return of the vessels to see if any notice is taken of their distress, or prove me a liar. A letter to His Excellency's address I send you. It came some days before the unfortunate affair from Post Vincent by Lieut. Du Vernet, who is reduced. All the Canadians are Rebels to a man. I shall wait your orders with great impatience, and am, &c., R. B. LERNOULT.

Lt. Col. Bolton:

As the service absolutely requires, an immediate reinforcement should be sent from Detroit; I have ordered 100 men from this Garrison, with officers in proportion; 50 from the Kings's, and the same number of the best men from the Rangers, which I hope Your Excellency will approve of. At the same time I must acquaint you that if I had double the number of men in this Garrison there is work enough for them all, for this Fort is really in a ruinous state, as the

inclosed Letters from Capt. Mathews, acting Engeneer, will inform you. Therefore hope Lieut. Twiss will be ordered up as soon as possible, and that a strong reinforcement may be sent at the same time, otherwise the Upper Posts [I am afraid] will be in danger, and the Indians obliged to observe at least a Neutrality. This is the nineth Letter I have wrote since I received the honor of your last favour, which was dated the 12th of November, therefore am apprehensive your Letters have been intercepted.

We have received an account that the Rebels have sent a strong party to erect a Fort at the Le Bœuff near presque Isle in my neighborhood; however there is another strong party gone out to find them some other amusement.

April 8th. The *Caldwell* is just arrived with your Excellency's Letter dated the 25th Decembre, but as the *Haldimand* is preparing to sail I have only time to inform you that I shall [as far as my bad state of health will allow me] do everything in my power to obey your commands. At the same time I hope Capt. Andrews may have the management of the Naval accounts. He is very capable and one you may depend will strictly observe Your Excellency's orders; for my part, I am not able to attend to all the business of this complicated command, having been near four months confined to my room. Colonel Butler will write by this opportunity in regard to Indian affairs.

I have the honor, &c.,

MASON BOLTON.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 330.

CANTUCKY COUNTY, THE FALLS OF OHIO,
April 4th, 1779.

[SQUIRE BOON TO COL. CAMPBELL?]

SIR—I received your letter dated Decr. 20th, for which I return you grate thanks, but in regard to seling the Horse I would much rather I could get him out hear, for the Indians has took my Horses and they are very dear to buy hear, and humbly beg you would send to the Gentlemen that has him to send him to me by William Moires and you will much oblige your humble servant, SQUIRE BOON.

Nevertheless if the Gentleman sees cause to keep him and send me two hundred pounds let him use his pleasure.

To Col. Arthur Comble [Campbell?]
these

Endorsed: No. 6. A copy of Squire Boon's letter.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 337.

[BY LIEUT. GOV. HAMILTON.]

Acct. brought in from Post St. Vincents by Capt. Chene:

Mr. Francois Maisonville, having been sent after two deserters fell in with four people from Fort Pitt, who were going to Kaskaskas, two of whom he took with a Pacquet of letters, and on his return to the Post about six miles distant, he saw the remains of fifteen fires. On his arrival he informed Lieut. Gov. Hamilton of it who demanded of the Prisoners if they could give him any further information. They answered not, and the Governor immediately concluded they were some of Capt. Helm's men, who were coming to join him at the Post, not knowing any King's Troops were there. The Governor then ordered Capt. La Motte with 20 of his company to hold themselves in readiness, and they were sent off a little time afterwards with Mr. Frans. Maisonville as a guide.

Two hours after their departure the Rebels entered at the lower end of the Village with a drum beating and a White Colour flying, and proceeded immediately to the Houses of Major Legras and Capt. Bosson. They then marched up to the Fort which they immediately invested. Capt. Chene, who lived in the Village, not being able to get into the Fort, made his escape to the Wood, together with Egnseway, Chamintawa, Chiefs of the Ottawas, and the Sastaritsi, King of the Hurons, from the wood, which he supposes distant from the Fort a mile and a half. He heard a smart firing all night, and now and then a great gun from the Fort. About 11 at night he with Sastaritsi and Egnsway attempted to enter the Village, but not finding it practicable they

returned again to the wood, and in the morning were joined by the Petit Gres, chief of the Miamis, and three of his people. About 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning the firing ceased on both sides, and Capt. Chene, a little time afterwards, met with a frenchman who told him Govr. Hamilton desired to Capitulate, the purport of which was to march out with the honours of War and return to Detroit. This Col. Clarke [he said] would by no means agree to, returning for answer that he would not again leave it in his power to spirit up the Indian nation and scalp the women and children. Egnseway, who had been about the Fort, returned with the same acct. as the frenchman. The firing began again on both sides about 12 o'clock, and about 3 in the afternoon Capt. Chene met with the Messrs. Bolons, who had just come from the Village with their families, and confirmed what he had before heard concerning the Capitulation, telling him at the same time that Capt. LaMotte had got into the Fort that morning with the loss of one man, who was made Prisoner. Capt. Chene with the Indians, retired a little further into the wood, and towards sundown Egnseway once more set off for the Fort in order to get further information, he returned with an account he had got from an Indian and a Frenchman, that seven of his nation was killed. The firing continued all night, and again ceased about 7 or 8 the next morning. About 3 or 4 o'clock in the afternoon Monsr. Chene and the Indians heard 9 Cannon shot, and a Pioria came to them some time afterwards and told them the Fort was taken. This was confirmed by a Frenchman and a Miamis Chief and Egnseway, who had been on the decouverte, arrived some time afterwards with a Poutawatamis, the latter of whom saw the Virginians drawn up on each side of the Fort Gate, to the number, he thinks, of 60, that after a talk of some time the Gate was opened, that they all went in, and a little time afterward he heard 9 great guns fire. This account was confirmed by a

number of Indians and French people to Egnseway, who likewise told him that only five of his people were killed. They further said that six soldiers were killed in the Fort and particularized the Master Gunner.

Capt. Chene, who narrowly escaped being taken, the Virginians passing within 15 yards of him, says their number could not have exceeded 60.

The Indians who were killed had just returned from War, had made two Prisoners at the Fort upon the Falls on the Ohio, and not knowing the enemy were in the village, were there surpriz'd and killed. He further adds that 30 of the enemy were Creols of the different villages on the English and Spanish sides of the Illinois.

The master of the *Felicity* spoke with the *Wellcome* returning from the Miamis River with goods on board intended for Post St. Vincent. They report that the Enemy amounted to 500 men, with 60 Rifflemen, Virginians.

Endorsed: Acct. brought in from Post St. Vincents by Capt. Chene.

Recd 17th April, 1779.

Copy of this taken for Sir Henry Clinton.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 336.

[BIRD TO LERNOULT.]

SANDUSKY, March 13, 1779.

DEAR SIR—Tho the situation I am in deprives me of power to detain the Vessel, yet it appearing necessary for your information and the good of the service that I should do it in the present case, I have taken upon me that authority at Oruntundis [the name by which the Hurons called Sandusky] and the Chief's requests who are return'd from Warr and by the mess-age sent [by one of their Chiefs] to me, they seem to have something of importance to communicate or resolve upon. They promise positively to be here on the 11th. Capt. Graham has been so anxious to return, ever since the first day of his arrival that it is with the utmost difficulty I have prevail'd with him to remain. 13 March. The Chiefs arriv'd yesterday; have considerably reinforced the Fort at Tuscarawas. The savages are very uneasy, would fain Council. I refus'd anything to do with the affair and beg'd they would send their determinations to you, which they conclude to do. Knives, flints, fuzees, and tomahawks are wanting.

H. BIRD.

To Captain Lernoult, Command't of Detroit, Etc.

Endorsed: Extract of Letters from St. Duski [Sandusky] from Lieut. Bird to Capt. Lernoult. Rect 17th April, 1779, for Col. Bolton.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 181, P. 167.

PORT ST. VINCENNES, 18th April 1779.

DEAR FRIEND—You will excuse me for being so long silent, but you must consider how I have been tossed about since I had the pleasure of seeing you last, that together with the distance and uncertainty of any Letter getting safe, made me let it drop, you must know that Colo. Clark has taken this place the 24th Febr'y last and relieved me, who was then Prisoner in the Fort and was pleased to confer on me some little employment in the Indian Department. Its therefore my Duty to inform you, that there has been some misunderstanding between some of our people and the Delawares in which three of them was killed and two wounded. This happened in the Colonel's absence from Kaskaskias. Would be very glad you would use your endeavours to reconcile matters as far as in your power lies; the particulars you will see at large in a Letter to the Commanding Officer at Tuscarawas.

I had the pleasure, after being relieved, to be sent on an expedition up the Wabash to meet a certain number of Boats, that were coming to the place with stores and Merchandize [which I took together with the Chief Judge of Detroit who was sent with Gov. Hamilton and the rest of his officers to Williamsburgh], the which I hope to be of infinite benefit to your Expedition against Detroit, as all the Indians on the Wabash are our Friends.

I am, D'r Sir, your most obedt H. S.

[HENRY TO GIBSON.]

D'R SIR—I must entreat you to let me know something concerning my family, whether my mother is yet living or not, as also my friends and old acquaintances; and any other news that may occur or that has happened since my departure. Robin George has arrived at Kaskaskias from Orleans with 40 men of Capt. Willing comp'y. Mine and my Wife's complm'ts to you and all Friends, &c., &c., I am, Sir, your most obed't humble servant,

MOSES HENRY.

To Colo. John Gibson.

Copies of Rebel Letters recd the 10th July, '79.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 342.

[CLARK TO NANALOIBI.]

[*Translation.*]

To Nanaloibi, Pout. Chief, 20th April, 1779.

I have always heard it said that Indians have no ears. I think that it will be to the purpose that I should make a sally upon them to give them some. However, I dare not complain again of you nor of your youth because of what has been told me, that you did not wish to go to war with the Big Knives. It is this which decided me today to extend to you my hand and to say to you as your father, to remain quiet on your mat as you have done up to the present, and to advise all Indians who are your friends to be no longer foolish and to charge themselves to maintain their women and children rather than to meddle with war.

Tell them on my behalf that I am also a good father as well as a good warrior, and that if they push my patience to the limit they will know. If there are any who still wish to be fools I bid them be cautious of solid arms because they would be unhappy if they missed.

I have some soldiers who have no fear but who are also foolish and I might not perhaps be able to stop them myself, for they are only seeking war and ask only to fight. Thus I repeat once more for the Indians to remain quiet. I do not wish to see them fighting nor to fight myself against you. If they have bunged ears let them have them pierced.

Have them told, or tell them yourself, that for a long time I have advised them and that I am beginning to get tired of all Indians and I only write to you to *Mech-*

Kigie because I believe a party of others my enemies, who will know me on the first folly they commit. Do not listen to wicked birds that come into your village to take your young men. Look on the French always as your allies who does them harm. Let me know if anyone goes to your village to raise young men for the English. I order you, if you wish to be my friend, to take all means that may bring them to me or divide them equally in your village.

Those who invite you to war are your worst enemies, so believe me and be peasable. You do not wish to make your families unworthy of pity.

This is my last advice.

LT. CLARK.

Endorsed: From Major de Peyster received the 1st July, 1779. Rebel Col. Clark's speech to the Poutawatamies Indians.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 96, P. 29.

No. 13.

[*From Major de Peyster to Genr'l Haldimand.*]

MICHILIMAKINAC, 2d May, 1779.

SIR—I am sorry to acquaint your Excellency that on the 24th of April I received a letter from Captain Lernoult dated the 21st of March informing me that Lt.-Govr. Hamilton and his whole party had fallen into the hands of the Virginians.

Since the arrival of this trading Batteau I have waited with the greatest anxiety for further intelligence, but finding none arrive with a series of fine winds, I have come to the resolution to send to enquire what is going on at Detroit. I flatter myself that there are orders for me to go and take the Command there, for which purpose I hold myself ready at a moment's warning.

The season here has been very open, so that we had reason to expect arrivals from the Grand River in the Lake Michigan some time past, but as yet can neither hear of trader or Indian being at hand.

Some squaws who went at about forty miles from hence to visit their friends, returned with the news that the Virginians were buolding boats near Milwakee and that they had sent belts which were accepted by the Ottawas and Chippawas, requesting of them to remain at the Grand River till they, the Virginians, had taken this Fort and delivered it into the hands of the Indians old Friends, the French, and that Siggenake, the disaffected Milwakee Chief, was to lead the first division. Yesterday arrived a

man from the same place who relates that he was informed from the Chief Gicee who wintered at the Grand Traverse about forty leagues from this, did not believe it, and sent the Person who brought it back to the Grand River to get further information. He further said that he understood that the Virginians were at Chicagow.

I have dispatched people to make all possible enquiry relative to this news. Should they come that way, I think there is hopes of their repenting their voyage, as I cannot be persuaded the Indians have so soon forgot their promise, but on the other hand if Detroit falls, it must be expected that their friendship will fall with it.

The provisions at this Post turn out very bad, great quantities of the Pork appearing evidently to have been condemned before sent up here, the pieces being much cut and scarcely packed over and that with dry salt. What Pork we serve as good is frequently so rusty that the soldier scarcely gets half his allowance.

I have the honor, etc.,

[Signed] A. S. De Peyster.

P. S.—I have taken the liberty to enclose a copy of the last Condemnation for the month of April.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 345.

[MONFORTON TO LERNOULT.]

[*Translation.*]

To Mr. Belanger Larnoult,
Commandant at Detroit.

HURON VILLAGE, 7th May 1779.

SIR—I had the honor of informing you some time ago that I have at my house a Virginian prisoner for 18 months, with the Hurons and adopted by them. I learned from him that an officer of Congress has sent a letter to the men of this village, that he had read it and that being unable to bring it to me he comes to tell me the contents nearly in these terms. "Sit down and read with attention the speech of your ancient father, the King of France, with whom the Americans are allies.

"The King of England is bound at present, and is sorry for what he has done. It is on his part he speaks to you this parole, and I invite you to come to see me with three or four of your Chiefs and the Indians, your neighbors. Say to the inhabitants of Canada that they enjoy much more advantages than they do with the French."

A man named Douillanter, a chief of the Hurons, replied to this letter that he had the Virginian write, saying he had been at war, forced there in the time of the reign of his father, the King of France, when he was required to fight, he did what he believed was his duty, and would do the same under the King of England, but that not knowing the consequences, would at present ask Governor Hamilton. The fear of the other nations hindered him making

war. He had accepted the *casket* [casse-tette] that he laid down now. The Indians held council for four days, when they assembled to make peace [the Virginian said] with the Americans, and to speak at once, to stop as much as possible all their savages and those of other nations; they departed yesterday. The Virginian said he thought they had some dealings with one Montour who carried three Collars.

He told me Montour was a man well instructed and speaking good English, that he arrived soon after little Concarquin, who had been introduced into the fort and had a long interview with the Commandant and that since his arrival the savages were always in council, with the result that they would send him again with three collars to conclude the peace. That he was not sure he would go, but that had he any news to send he would go there. Do not hope that the savages will let him go willingly. I asked him what that old tent ment which I had seen on the Point of the Hurons. He replied that it is a party of Sauteux who were going to war, but whom the Hurons persuaded to return home where they sent some Collars of Peace. They were to continue the road assuring the Hurons of their return.

Devotion, Sir, by duty and inclination, towards the service of the King, I will neglect nothing that I believe to have any to report, and if that information is not of great consequence, you will receive it as a proof of my disposition to manifest my zeal should a better occasion present itself.

I have the honor to be with profound respect your very humble and obedient servant,

GULLE MONFORTON.

I have just learned that a Huron has arrived from Sandusky, where he reports that the Wolfs [Loups] have divided between the King and the rebels and are fighting, and four are killed.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 96, P. 32.
No. 14.

[From Major De Peyster.
To Gen'l Haldimand.]

MICHILIMAKINAC, 13 May, 1779.

SIR—I did myself the honor to write to your Excellency on the 2d instant, a copy of which letter I now enclose.

The Chippawas of the Island of Michilimakinac arrived here the 8th from the Grand River and reports that the Ottawas and Grand River Traders are on their way. They declare that the news of the Virginians building boats on the Lake Mitchig was the invention of some evil minded Indians, at that neither themselves nor the Ottawas would listen to the Rebels' Belt.

Mr. Langdale [Langlade] arrived last night and informed me that on his arrival at Labaye he received an order from Lt. Govr. Hamilton acquainting him that he had wintered at Post Vincent, therefore required of him and Gautier to join him early in the spring by the Illinois River. That he accordingly set out with some Indians and reached Milwakee where he received accounts of Mr. Hamilton's being taken, when the Indians disheartened, would proceed no further. The enclosed letter from Gautier will give your Excellency an account of his expedition. Mr. Langdale assures me that a Canadian named Renclo, at the head of twenty horsemen, is travelling thro' the Iowa and Sakis country to purchase horses from [for] Mr. Clarke, telling the Indians that they will be with three hundred men at Labaye soon. But Mr. Langdale rather believes that they

mean to transport themselves to Detroit. The Indians were so much divided that it was not possible to take Renclo and his party.

He was informed by a man who came from the Illinois, that the Virginians then did not exceed sixty men; that they were mostly in bed, the last Fall with the maladie du pays but were talking of a great reinforcement.

The Canadians who want to return to this Post have leave, on taking the oaths not to serve against the United States. Clarke assures them that he will be here nearly as soon as themselves. None are yet arrived.

I don't care how soon Mr. Clarke appears, provided he come by Lake Michigan, and the Indians prove staunch, and, above all, that the Canadians do not follow the example of their brethren at the Illinois, who have joined the Rebels to a man. I am, however, in hopes that their connection at Montreal will be a check upon them.

If I had armed vessels I could make them constantly coast Lake Michigan to awe the Indians and prevent the Rebels building Boats. There is a small sloop here as already reported, but no sailors, nor will my present garrison admit of any detachment, it not being by the one half sufficient to do the necessary duty here. I shall allow the Traders to come to this post, but if things do not greatly alter, I will not allow one to go the Labaye road.

The Sakis and Reinards seems to be easy about the matter as appears by Gautier's letter, but they will soon open their eyes, if it is possible effectually to restrain that trade. On that head, as well as how I am to act in case Detroit is taken, is what I hope I will receive your full instructions about, by a light canoe. If Detroit should be taken it is evident we have but a dismal prospect. However, what can be expected from the subdivisions shall be

done. I think I may with propriety call my hand full by that name, when a part are employed at the Cannon, having nine Pieces of Ordnance and only two Artillerymen.

I have sent to Saginaw to endeavor to secure six hundred bushels of corn for the Indians, without which our flour will run short by the fall of the year.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

[Signed] A. S. De Peyster.

P. S.—Give me leave to assure your Excellency that nothing can be expected from the Indians without troops to head them.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 96, P. 92.

No. 10.

QUEBEC, 20th May, 1779.

[HALDIMAND TO DE PEYSTER.]

SIR—In my letter of this morning I informed you of the principal object that I had in view in regulating the merchandize for the upper posts, notwithstanding this be delivered to you by Mr. C. Paterson whom I have permitted to go express to your Post or neighborhood, would assist government in securing the Indians and at the same time run no risk of falling into the hands of the enemy. You will immediately write me the particulars by express. I wish just to mention to you that Governor Hamilton, a few days before he was taken, sent about 300 corvee men for some provisions and presents, which he had left at Miamis and which consequently fell into the hands of the rebels and would be very usefull to them in any expedition they may form by the River Chichagow against your Posts.

In one of your former letters you reported some merchants having passed Michilimakinac contrary to your orders, with goods which they probably arrived to the Rebels. I beg you will inform me of their names, by whom employed or with whom connected; also the time this happened, that I may use my endeavours to punish all who are concerned in such villainous practices, and should anything of the sort happen in future, I beg to have the earliest and the most minute information concerning it.

As it is possible my letter of the 6th inst. may not yet have reached you, I repeat here, that if any merchant what-

ever arrives at or near your post with any kind of goods without my particular passport, that you immediately seize all such goods and either detain them at Michilimackinac or send them to Detroit, as you may judge best for His Majesty's Service.

I have had repeated application from Lt.-Col. Campbell, Superintendent of Indian affairs, to grant a Passport for the Sieur Calvert [Calvet] to carry merchandize into your neighborhood, which I could not comply with consistantly with the Impartiallity I am determined always to observe respecting Traders. Nevertheless if you find the Sieur Calvert to be the steady friend to government, with the influence Lt.-Col. Campbell reports him to have amongst the savages, I should be glad you found out some line to employ him in, that might reward his Fidelity.

Notwithstanding I have granted no pass for Michilimackinac, I have enclosed for your information Copy of my answer to the merchants trading to the northwest of the Upper Country.

F. H.

Quebec, May 20th, 1779.

No. 11.

[HALDIMAND TO DE PEYSTER.]

SIR—Having no occasion to doubt but my several letters of April 8th and 18th, also of May 6th will be with you before you receive this, I have only now to inform you that no ships are yet arrived from England and that the various accounts I have received from different parts respecting the Magazines and Provisions which the rebels are forming in the upper Country together with the many artfull and designing letters, which they have found means to distribute in several of the Indian Villages, calls upon you to use every exertion to preserve the Savages in our Interest, and effectually secure the post of Michilimakinac from any insult which the Rebels may meditate against it. In this situation of affairs I have thought proper to prohibit all Merchants from carrying their goods to your parts, allowing them only to take such Provisions and Cloaths as may be sufficient to support their servants during the year, and to prevent the trade from being lost to the Province.

I shall continue to pay every attention in my power to the support of the upper posts and whenever Indian presents arrive they shall be forwarded without delay, and an apartment of which is now on their way to Michilimak inac, and I hope will arrive within a few days of this letter. In the meantime I am pushing forward provisions and Rum with all possible dispatch by the way of Lake Ontario, and when I inform you that I would reinforce most of the upper Posts, if I imagined I could send provisions for their support, I am sure you will conceive the anxiety I must feel to have that article distributed

with justice and Economy, and how much pleasure it would afford me to hear that the industry of the Troops made the natural produce and resources of the place and situation where they are, help to maintain them and to reserve the other provisions for cases of emergency. F. H.

Copies of Letters from His Excellency, Frederick Hamilton [Haldimand] to Major De Peyster.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 348.

[CHEVALLIER TO LERNOULT.]

[*Translation*]

Copy of Mr. Chevallier's letter from St. Joseph, received the 5th of June:

ST. JOSEPH, the 29th May, 1779.

SIR—I have few opportunities of receiving letters from you and still fewer for sending you my very humble thanks. The son of Grand Louis furnishes me with an opportunity of doing so today.

I am delighted to assure you of my gratitude to the honourable person to whom Calumny has not made me contrary.

The chief who takes this letter is a deputy of the first village which was gained over [that is to say] I do not speak of the chief, but of the village, by the bad people of their seeming indecision on the part they should take. The miracles that the rebels have performed by letter put in the balance against my advice and solicitations cannot weigh in the face of the rumors spread of the taking of your Fort and those of all Canada, which some hidden enemies have circulated, notwithstanding all my efforts to prove the contrary. In fact the news that 1,500 Americans are ready to come to Illinois, which is discussed in this village puts me outside of the chance to assure them of their duty. You alone, Sir, are able to reanimate their courage, which neither infidelity nor Perfidy, but fear, has dejected the Indians. You can more easily than I inform them with satisfaction that your Post has been reinforced by 300 men of

the troops [indirect news] but which will revive them. I beg you, Sir, at once to help me with your advice, and let me know the means of maintaining them in the interests of the Prince. Let me know, I beg of you, the designs by which you hope to overcome the projects of the Rebels. I am much interested in their nation, that for that reason alone I should merit the favor that I ask you. A favor equally useful to my own interests, as to that of the nation in which I am interested.

I will bring this letter to a close, informing you that I have executed the order which His Excellency has sent me to the Post ordering me to Cloathe eleven Poutawamies who were attached to his suite. I have conformed to the orders with the exception of four bottles of Rum which I did not give; however, I have put them where when they are needed they can get them. I will obtain payment from Mr. McComb, but having to send my accounts to Mr. Du Peyster, I enclose the bill for the Lieut. Governor. I tell you of this in order that so *loci penman* may ask something that you cannot refuse.

I hope you will receive it well satisfied and determined not to change the resolution that you took, and I flatter myself to conduct them according to your orders, by the execution of which I will prove anew my zeal.

I am, Sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

LOUIS CHEVALLIER.

Capt. Lernoult.

Endorsed 1779: Copy of Mr. Chevallier's letter from St. Joseph, 29th May. Recd the 10th July, inclosed in Captain Lernoult's letter of the 26th June.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 54, p. 85.

No. 18.

QUEBEC, 7th June, 1779.

[HALDIMAND TO LORD GEORGE GERMAINE.]

Lord George Germaine [i. e. Lord George Sackville].

MY LORD—On the 29th of May I did myself the Honor of writing a short letter to your Lordship by Halifax, and with it transmitted you a copy of what I wrote to General Clinton of that date, but from the probability this dispatch has not yet arrived, I enclose another copy as it contains a general sketch of our present situation during the winter. The Rebels have constantly threatened invading this Province, and this Spring seem to be taking serious measures for attempting in every part by which there is a possibility to approach.

I do not wish to alarm Your Lordship with imagining Danger and Difficulties, but it appears to me of the highest importance to His Majesty's Service that our state should be clearly understood. I shall try to convey to Your Lordship a correct state of our situation.

The enclosed copies of Lieut. Governor Hamilton's Letters as well as those from Michilimakinac, Detroit and Niagara will show your Lordship the unfortunate end of the expedition undertaken by that Gentleman in the month of October, upon which subject I have already had the honor of writing to your Lordship in my dispatches of last November. Within the interval of a very few days I learned the account of his arrival at Vincennes, and of himself and party being made prisoners there, small as this check will appear to those in a remote situation, it is natural enough

to expect disagreeable consequences may arise from it, for* previous to this the Canadian Inhabitants, both above and below, were become adherents to the United cause of France and the Americans, and many of the Savages imagining we are become the weakest side, were grown luke warm and some even had shewn a Disposition to join our Enemy. So situated it will require great judgment and temper to preserve the Indians in our interest after so glaring and recent a proof of our want of strength, or want of conduct.

I do not wish to throw any blame upon Lieut. Governor Hamilton, because he may have had reasons for undertaking his late expedition which I am not acquainted with, but at present it is to me astonishing and unaccountable how an Officer of his Good Character could remain at Vincennes when he knew the impracticability of my supplying him with Provisions, or assistance, and after he must have received notice of the Rebels approaching towards Detroit.

*EXPENSES OF INDIAN DEPARTMENT.

The great desire I have to furnish your Lordship with every possible information, has induced me to enclose Copies of every Paper I have received respecting Governor Hamilton, and also of those which respect the Savages in the Upper Country, and I have, only that however I wish to retrench the enormous expenses of the Indian Department, my zeal for the public service will not allow me to give positive orders concerning it, fearing least it might detach the Indians from our cause, and knowing that whenever they do quit us, the valuable Fur Trade will immediately be lost to Great Britain, and this Province will, notwithstanding, require a greater force than ever to defend it.

* This sentence heading the paragraph is a marginal note in the reference book.

*NECESSITY OF SUPPLYING THE UPPER POSTS IMMEDIATELY.

Herewith, your Lordship will also receive the present exhausted state of our Provinces. I am obliged to forward the supplies destined for the Upper Country with all possible Dispatch. If I permitted the least delay in this Service, the Duration of our Transport thither is so short, that I should be obliged to weaken, if not abandon, some of the Upper Posts during the Winter, and at a time when it is absolutely necessary to reinforce them, and yet, after all my endeavors, I cannot continue this necessary Transport more than a few weeks longer, unless some Provisions arrive; for altho I risk leaving the Lower Country so bare of Provisions as to prevent the possibility of forming sufficient Magazines so to defend our extensive Frontiers to advantage, yet I dare not expose the Troops stationed here to want, or reduce myself to the necessity of taking Provisions from the inhabitants, who are already disaffected, and all the beef that the country could conveniently afford has been purchased and delivered to the Troops during the winter.

"*AN EXAMPLE—SUPPLY DEMANDED FOR THE ENSUING YEAR."

Permit me, therefore, to Entreat Your Lordship's particular attention to this essential article in order that our supplies even this summer may be very ample, for after all my care, much Provision is spoiled in the Transport, and I apprehend the Demand from the Upper Posts will be this summer double the last, owing to the great number of Savage Families who have been driven from their Habitations and obliged to take protection at the King's Posts, Particularly at Niagara, and who consequently must be fed.

It shall be my study to counteract the present temper

*Marginal Note in Reference Book.

and Disposition of the Canadians with all the Prudence and mildness, the critical situation of the Province requires.

*"MARTIAL LAW TO BE PROCLAIMED IF NECESSARY."

But should the Rebels attempt to penetrate amongst us in force, the Martial Law shall be proclaimed; small parties have already been in the Province and have remained several days unperceived and hitherto when notice has been given of them, it has always been too late to apprehend them.

Your Lordship will most likely be informed by the present conveyance, of my having refused Licences to several Indian Traders to go to the Upper Country, but the amazing supply of Arms and Ammunition they were taking up, excluse of a quantity which still remains indisposed of, from the importation of last year determined me not to hazard even the possiblity of such articles falling into the Hands of our Enemies.

*"PROHIBITION OF EXPORT OF WHEAT AND FLOUR."

Those who have speculated upon the Amazing Price of Wheat and Flour in other parts of America are, I suppose, equally out of humor at the Prohibiting the exportation of these commodities until the 1st of Jan'y next, which has been done by Public Proclamation.

*"CONFINEMENT OF MESPLET AND JAUBARD—REASONS FOR SO DOING."

The turbulent and seditious Behaviour of a Cabal at Montreal, has also laid me under the necessity of confining two Frenchmen there, who names Mesplet and Jau-

*Marginal Note in Reference Book.

bard, the former a Printer sent here by Congress in 1774, to Publish and Disperse their letters; the latter has been an attorney and is an unprincipled Adventurer. So soon as their papers have been examined Your Lordship shall have a circumstantial account of their affairs, and if this does not in some measure check the Licentious Spirit the [that] was beginning to rise, I shall not hesitate to make more examples. I heartily lament that those Who misbehaved in 1775 and 1776 were not severely punished. It was easy then but now difficult, nevertheless my endeavors shall not be wanting to promote the King's interests, serve the Public and secure the Province. Objects which engross all my attention and which always have been and ever shall be the sole aim of all my actions.

I have the Honor to be with the Greatest respect and Regard, your Lordship's most obedt Humble Servant,

FRED. HALDIMAND.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 66, P. 137.

[HALDIMAND TO DE BUDE (?).]

[*Translation*].

QUEBEC, the 17th June, 1779.

I profit, my dear General, of the first occasion that presents itself to write to you on account of the subject in the letters that I have written by Halifax, have been received. I hope you have been pleased to hear that I am entirely cured of my cough and that I am marvellously well. Of myself I will say no more.

The death of Capt. Foy, my secretary, gives me an excuse. I see myself overwhelmed with work. It increases each day and the least negligence throws all my affairs into a confusion that it pains me to behold. I have taken Capt. Matthews of the 8th Regt. to succeed Capt. Foy. They say great things of him, and I hope he will fulfill my expectations; but it is necessary to straighten a service so complicated, and if you could see the labyrinth into which I am plunged, you would have pity on me.

Behold a year has almost gone since my arrival in this country without knowing exactly what has passed on your continent. I see myself surrounded with ennemies, and little hope from the Province, since France has made alliance with the rebels and are not ashamed to make it public by the Count of Estaing's [d'Estaing] declaration to incite this people to revolt by the most seductive motives for the French. Added to this unhappy expedition of Lt. Gen'l Hamilton on the Illinois side, undertaken without my orders and which, however, might have been useful, had he had the prudence to retire in time. This is between ourselves. The second volume of Burgoyne and that appeared to have a sor-

rowful result. It appears that there is some fatality following all your enterprises; if we still had the two companies of the 14th Regiment which I left at Illinois when I commanded at N. York, we shall be assured the possession of this country, and overcome all the misfortunes that will follow, &c., &c.

I wrote you, my dear, the 30th of May by Halifax, to inform you that I had written to Lord North to pray him to give me a place that is vacant in this province and which they say is in his nomination. I send you a copy of the letter that I wrote him, lease he should want your advice to hire me the service. The Nephew whom I recommend is older than the one who is my aide de camp and is also a lieutenant, but he had the misfortune to fall from his horse that caused him frequent hemorrhage which will not allow him to take violent exercise. The position that I ask for him is not of consequence, and has hitherto, been filled by a deputy, but it would serve as a little retreat which would allow him to leave the service, for which he is no longer suitable, and he could establish himself in this province where there is need of honest men.

There are two places vacant by the death of Capt. Foy. I have given one of them to Capt. Brehm and the other to Major Holland, two officers which by their knowledge and their activity can be of great use in the service of the King, which is the object that always determines my choice and from which I never depart. However the best of Princes can be surprised, and I pray you it is necessary not to loose time.

Adieu, my dear General; be assured of my respect. Give my compliments and my friendship to those whom you see and believe me, I am all yours for life. F. H.

My domestic troup has a very bad turn; his pride has

taken a leap and caused me much expense and sorrow. I count on sending him away as soon as I can be accommodated.

There is a Mr. Montrose in the Regiment of Erlack in France, brother to him whom we know, who asks for one of my nieces in marriage. If you can acquaint me of what is his character and his conduct, you would oblige me infinitely. Perhaps we might be able to coax him to this Country, as I repeat to you, it is very necessary to attract subjects on which the Government can count. Adieu, again; remember me to your family. F. H.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 97, P. 224.

LOUISVILLE, Sept. 23, 1779.

[CLARK TO JEFFERSON.]

DEAR SIR—I am happy to find that your sentiments respecting a Fortification at or near the mouth of the Ohio is so agreeable to the Ideas of every man of any judgment in this Department. It is the spot that ought to be strong and Fortified, and all the Garrisons in the Western Country Dependant on it, if the ground would admit it, but the misfortune is, there's not an acre of ground near the Point than four miles rise the Ohio, but what is often Ten feet under water. About twelve miles below the Point there is a beautiful situation, as if by nature designed for a Fortification by every observation that has been taken, lays a quarter of a degree within the State of Virginia. Its elevation is such that a small expense would render it very strong and of greater advantage than one four miles up the Ohio. In case you have one built, a few years will prove the propriety of it. It would immediately become the Key of the whole Trade of the Western Country and well situated for the Indian Department in General. Besides many Salutary Effect it would render During the War, by awing our Enemnies, the Chickesaws, and the English Posts on the Missippi. The strength of the Garrison ought not to be less than Two Hundred men, when built. A Hundred families that might easily be Got to Settle in a Town would be a great advantage in promoting the place. I am sensible that the Spaniards would be fond to settle a Post of Correspondence opposite to it, if the ground would admit. But the country on their side is so subject to inundations, that it is impossible. For the want of such a Post I find it absolutely necessary to sta-

tion an armed boat at the Point so as to command the navigation of both rivers, to defend our Trading Boats and stop the great concourse of Tories and Deserters that pass down the River to our Enemies. The Illinois, under the present circumstances, is by no means able to supply the Troops that you Expect in this department with provisions, as the crops at Vincennes was so exceedingly bad that upwards of Five Hundred Souls have to depend on their Neighbors for Bread. I should be exceedingly glad that you would commission some Person to furnish the Troops in this Quarter with provisions, as the greater Part must come from the Frontiers for the ensuing year, as I can't depend on the Illinois for supplies more than will be sufficient for two hundred and fifty men. There is an easy conveyance down the Tennessee River and Provisions more plenty on Holston than in the neighborhood of F. P. M. Colonel John Campbell, who promised to deliver this letter to Your Excellency I believe would undertake the task at a moderate salary, and a gentleman of undoubted veracity. But pray, sir, order as much Provisions Down as will serve the Troops you intend sending out, at least six months.

I am, Sir, with the greatest respect, your humble servant,

GEO. CLARKE.

[CLARK TO JEFFERSON.]

His Excellency Thos. Jefferson.

N. B.—By my letter of the 24th August you'll be made acquainted that I have been disappointed in my intended Excurtion up the Wabash. I have now a Detachment of about Two Hundred and fifty of French Volunteers, Indians and a few Regulars on their march to attack a British Post at St. Joseph's, near Lake Michigan, commanded by a Lieutenant and party, where there is considerable stores deposited for the use of employing savages. The Party is commanded by Captain James Shilby. There is no doubt of his success as their rout is such that there is but little Probability of the enemy's being apprised of them Before it is too late. His orders is to demolish the Fortifications and Return with the Stores.

I am with respect,

G. CLARK.

N. B.—Sergeant Chapman reports that when Mr. James Shilby endeavoured to raise his troops for the above Expedition the men complained that they had no shoes and therefore would not go to St. Joseph's.

AR. S. DE PEYSTER, Major.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES, SERIES B, VOL. 122, P. 478.

[*Translation*]

To all it may concern, Greeting. Know ye! That Jean St. Germain, gentleman of the city of Paris, lately commissioned as Interpreter for the Chequitas, Chichas, &c., nations of the West, which to abridge the route and to tranquilize the restless mind of the Indians who are incessantly tormented by the subjects of the English King to take up arms, which said Mr. St. Germain, having passed by that town of Cascaskias in which by chance he found himself considered by the Pous and Saults [Pottawatomies and Ottawas] to whom he spoke publicly and before us the undersigned, that which was to be [reported] carried to their nation and to their neighbors. Know ye! That the King of France makes it known to all red men that the French and the Spaniards and Americans at present are one, that he invites all to remain quiet in order that they may live with their wife and children and not meddle in any war which may prove fatal to them if they do. To support their misfortunes with patience as we do ourselves, but that it will not be long until they have happiness. It was only six months since he left Europe, where he had the honor of seeing the King, they could assure their brothers and neighbors that six months should not elapse without they having all the help that would be necessary for them, whilst on the part of the French, Spanish and of those Americans, they could add faith to these

words, as their brothers the French and Americans of which the principal have taken the oath to serve everywhere they may be needed.

[SIGNED]

J. N. MONTGOMEN, [Montgomery]
S. CATO,
RICH'D WINSTON, Commad't Civil.
JEAN ST. GERMAIN.

Given at Cascaskias the 6th day of May, 1780.

Enclosed No. 3. A French proclamation at the Cascaskias, 6th May, 1780.

APPENDIX.

*Clark's Capture of Kaskaskia.

Nothing more is needed than Clark's own account to show that he did not take the so-called Fort Gage. If this was otherwise, why should he have "crossed" the Kaskaskia "river" at all, "to the town"? Why did he "divide his little army into two divisions," order "one to surround the town" while "he with the other broke into the fort and secured the governor, Mr. Rocheblave"?†

Later, [January, 1779] when an attack by the British was feared, why does Clark say "the enemy would set the adjacent houses on fire which would fire the fort," it "not being known that I intended to burn them myself as soon as the wind changed"? He did "fire them," but says "the houses being covered with snow had [as he intended] no effect only those it [the fire] was set to."‡

But enough has been quoted to make us look amid the resident holdings of Kaskaskia for the fort which Clark "broke into and secured the Governor, Mr. Rocheblave."

* This matter was prepared by the editor too late to be used in its logical place in the volume. See Clark's Conquest of the Illinois, this volume, pp. 171-289.

† This is not a new or original thought. It was discussed by the writer with the late Edward G. Mason and Professor W. F. Poole a number of years ago while the latter had charge of the free city Library of Chicago. The result of Professor Poole's research was given in his paper on "The West" in Winsor's "America." It also appears in John Moses' "Illinois Historical and Statistical." Meanwhile the writer has unearthed new matter in this connection which appears further.—H. W. B.

‡ Clark in the "Mason letter." See also the "Memoir" for a fuller detail of this burning of houses, a barn, etc., near the fort.—H. W. B.

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Again, the so-called Fort Gage was built in the hope of saving the extreme west at a time when the war in America had turned strongly against the claims of France. We find that in April, 1760, Captain Mackarty, Commandant of the Illinois at Fort Chartres, writes M. de Vaudreuil, the Governor General of Canada, that "The Fort which he [Mackarty] had ordered built at the Kaskaskias was up to the parapet, that he had made all the arrangements considered necessary, according to his strength, to receive the enemy."*

The so-called Fort Gage, says another writer, "was burned down in October, 1766. It stood on the summit of a high rock opposite the village, and on the other side of the river, and was built of very thick squared timber, dovetailed at the angles." When this was written, in 1767, "An officer and twenty soldiers were quartered in the village, and govern the inhabitants under the direction of the Commandant at Fort Chartres."†

There is no authentic hint that the so-called Fort Gage was ever rebuilt or occupied. In less than five months after Mackarty wrote that it was "up to the parapets," the country was ceded to Great Britain, so the work could hardly have been completed within that time. Nor is it any

* Mackarty to Vaudreuil, April 12, 1760. In Paris Documents. An invader posted on that height would have easily taken or destroyed Kaskaskia across the river. Early the same year Mackarty also ordered the Fort Massac [Massiac] to be built on the lower Ohio to check the flood of English conquest. These precautions did not avail, and a few months later, September 8, 1760, France yielded the country to Great Britain.—H. W. B.

† "The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi," etc., by Capt. Philip Pittman, London, 1770. Pittman was a civil engineer of the British Army and as such made a survey and map of the Mississippi from its mouth at the "Balise" to Fort Chartres. In his volume he also produces a "plan" of Kaskaskia drawn by the native American, Thomas Hutchins, then an Ensign in the British service, afterwards to become the noted Geographer and Surveyor General of the later United States.—H. W. B.

more certain that it was ever duly named, or even officially referred to except by Mackarty as "the Fort at the Kaskaskias." Taken as we find it, it is the best military earthwork of French remains in all the Mississippi valley. Illinois ought to own and preserve them. They with their adjacent grounds would make a splendid park, easy of access by river or rail.

Besides the "principal buildings" and "church" in Kaskaskia was "the Jesuits house and small Chapel adjoining it; these as well as some other houses in the Village, are built of stone, and, considering this part of the world, make a very good appearance."* While France still owned the country, its order of the Jesuit Fathers was suppressed, and their "House," along with "their farm, cattle, brewery," and other "holdings" were sold for the crown [of France] by the French Commandant [at Fort Chartres] after the country was ceded to the English. Mons. Beauvias was the purchaser, and is the richest English subject in this country."†

This Mons. Beauvias was Vitol ste Geme, a native of Kaskaskia, who, with his six brothers, were sons of Jean Baptiste Ste Geme and called Beauvias after his native place in France. His son Vitol became a Judge of Court at Kaskaskia under John Todd, Jr., Governor for the Commonwealth of Virginia. Vitol Ste Geme Beauvias later in life left Illinois for Ste Genevieve, Missouri, where he lived at ease to a very ripe old age. It was no doubt his family with whom Henry M. Brackenridge lived three years when a lad, and he graphically described the old Frenchman and his household in his "Recollections of Persons and Places in the West."

To proceed, in 1763, General Thomas Gage succeeded General Jeffery Amherst as Commander in Chief of the

* Pittman's Volume.—H. W. B.
† Pittman as above.—H. W. B.

British forces in North America. Two years later, on October 10th, Fort Chartres was duly turned over to a British force in command of Captain Thomas Stirling. The latter had with him a proclamation addressed by General Gage to the "inhabitants of the Illinois" as to their rights, liberty and government as subjects of "his Britannic Majesty," etc.

The Mississippi swept more nearly to Fort Chartres until 1772, when the current tumbled down the shore walls of the structure and made it no longer tenable. Hence we find the order of Gen. Gage that "Fort Chartres be abandoned and the troops stationed at Kaskaskias." He also writes "about building batteries and block-houses."*

From now on we hear no more of Fort Chartres in official letters to or from the Illinois. Instead, "Fort Gage" now becomes the headquarters of all such correspondence. The first instance the Editor here finds, is a letter of Captain Hugh Lord, dated Fort Gage, April 20, 1772, in which he asks "for instructions as to the Fort."†

The second reference is from the old archives at Kaskaskia, transcribed and thus preserved in an early western newspaper.‡

It is an old style writ of *fieri facias,* still in use in this country as well as in Great Britain, directed to Andrew Hoy, the Provost or Military Sheriff at Kaskaskia, to execute. It was "Given at Fort Gage the 19th day of December, 1772, [by] Hugh Lord, Commandant of Illinois," and required the Provost "to have you the money before us [the Commandant] at Kaskaskia as soon as the sale of the

* Gage to Gen. Haldimand. N. Y., March 16, 1772. Canadian Archives. —H. W. B. See page 290 of this vol.

† Hugh Lord to General Gage. Fort Gage, April 20, 1772. In the Haldimand Collection Canadian Archives.—H. W. B.

‡ And reproduced by Edmund T. Flagg, Editor of the Knickerbocker Magazine at that time, in his work on "The Far West," etc.

Old Jesuit House, Kaskaskia.

said effects [of the defendant] shall admit," etc. It is a strange instance of the common law of England, without courts of justice in its colony, being enforced by a purely military tribunal.

There is no doubt but that Fort Gage in Kaskaskia was so named in honor of General Thomas Gage. And an official letter written at a time when General Clark held it, leaves no less a doubt that the Fort in question was the "stone house of the Jesuits" with some changes to make it a military structure. The letter referred to says: "The Kaskaskia is in no way fortified. The fort being *still* a sorry picked enclosure around the Jesuite College, with two plank-houses [block-houses put there by Captain Lord acting on General Gage's "instructions" as already noted] at opposite angles, mount two four-pounders, each on the ground floor, and a few swivels [two-pound grass-hoppers] mounted in Pigeon houses."*

A cut of the old Jesuit house, herewith produced, is from an engraving found by W. R. Brink. of Edwardsville, a noted Illinois author, and produced by him in one of his County histories in that section of the State. It appears with its shingle covering the same as years before when Rocheblave wrote that "the roof of the mansion of the fort was of shingles and very leaky, notwithstanding his efforts to patch it, and [that] unless a new roof be provided very soon, the building, which was constructed twenty-five years ago [in 1753] and cost the Jesuits forty thousand piasters, will be ruined," etc.† It is a precious historical relic of "the Illinois," when a domain of France, Great Britain,

* Arent S. De Peyster in command at Mackinac, to Gen. Haldimand Michilimackinac, June 27, 1779. At this time so much of the more direct route to Detroit was under the sway of General Clark and his friendly savages that it was safer to dispatch news of his doings around to De Peyster. His letter quoted above is among the "Haldimand Collections" in the Canadian Archives.—H. W. B.

† Rocheblave to Sir Guy Carleton. Fort Gage, Feb. 8, 1778. In the Canadian Archives.—H. W. B.

Virginia and the United States, as well as now when a leading State of the Federal Union.

Further east in 1775 the tide of war for Independence was against the British and the next year that power massed its distant troops nearer to where the most danger threatened. Haldimand, while stationed at New York, still had two companies of the 14th Regiment quartered at Kaskaskia under Captain Lord. And now early in the spring of the next year, 1776, Sir Guy Carleton ordered Captain Lord to leave Kaskaskia and take his troops to Detroit. Captain Lord put Rocheblave in command on the recommendation of Sir Guy Carleton, who says Rocheblave "was a Canadian [a titled native of France] formerly in the French service. His abilities and knowledge of that part of the country recommended him to me as a fit person, and I thought such a one necessary since the posts [troops] which have been held on the Mississippi have been withdrawn."* His name and title in full was "Philippe Francois de Rastel, Chevalier de Rocheblave." And on April 11, 1763, he married Marie Dufresne, a native girl of Kaskaskia.†

Thus was the Illinois left without a British soldier to defend it, and the native French residents had no liking at all for them. Placed in charge of Rocheblave, like Vincennes in the hands of Jean Baptiste Racine, alias "ste Marie," all this country was open to attack.

George Rogers Clark, with the foresight of a skilled warrior, took in the state of affairs. His spies had kept him posted, and he put this, that and the other thing he learned, together. When the time was ripe he went to Williamsburg and laid his purpose secretly before the authorities of Virginia. He alone was full of hope. The result of his daring plan needs not here, again, be told.

* Carleton to Sackville. Quebec, August 13, 1777. The Canadian Archives.—H. W. B.

† The Marriage Register of the Parish Records of Kaskaskia which the writer has examined.—H. W. B.

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Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber, Librarian Illinois State Historical Library, assisted by Georgia L. Osborne.

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